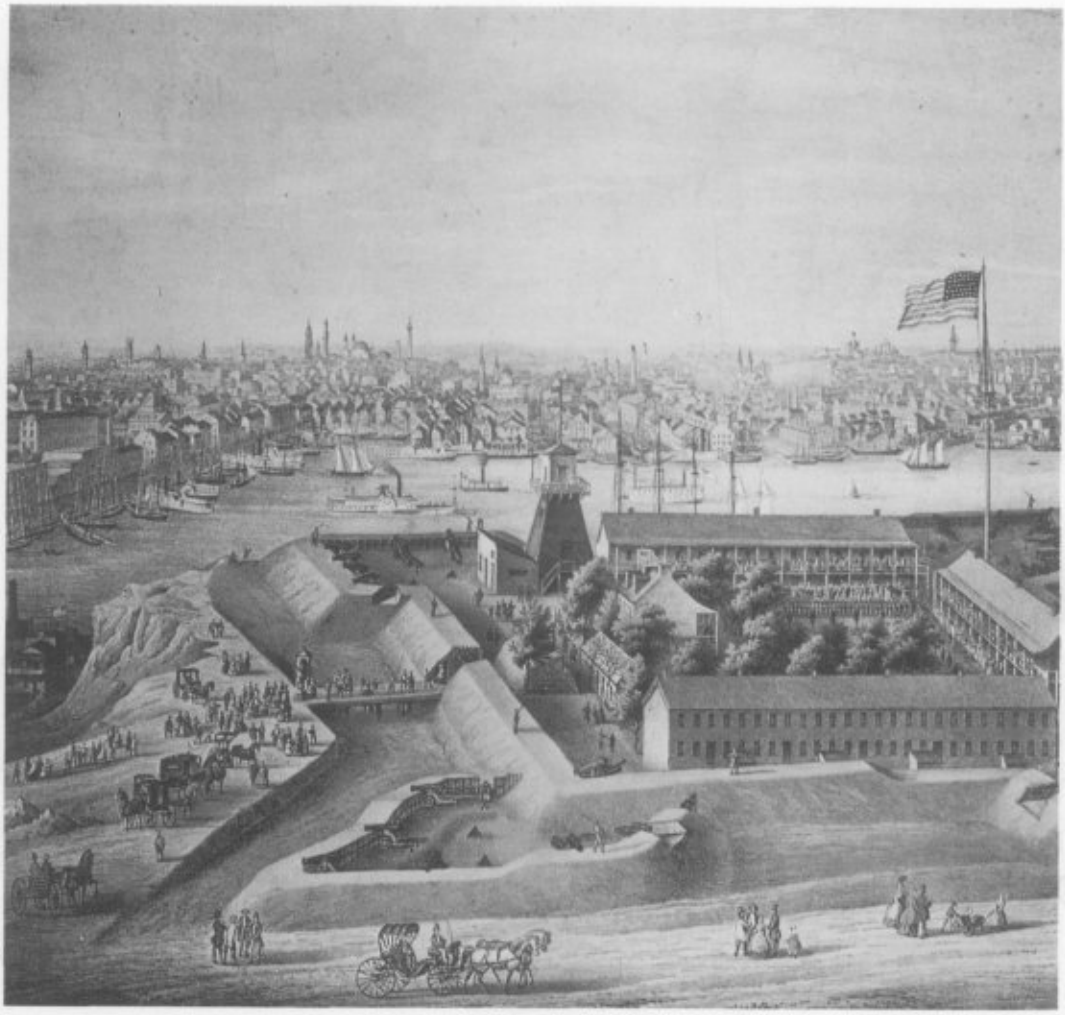
Maryland Historical Magazine



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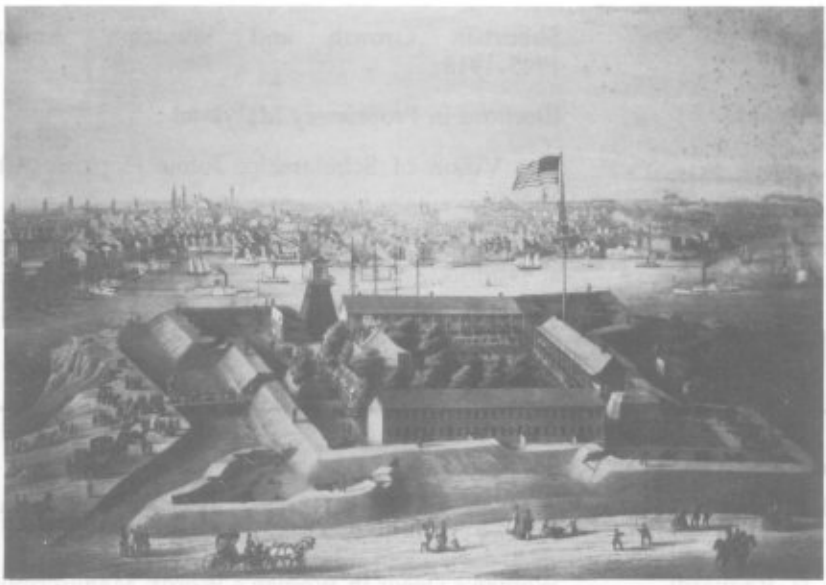

FORT FEDERAL HILL, BALTIMORE, MD. LITH. & PRINT BY E. SACHSE & CO. 104 S. CHARLES ST. BALTO. ENTERED . . . 1862 BY E. SACHSE & CO. . . . MD. ** Lithograph, printed in colors. 35.4 x 51 cm.

Fort Federal Hill, shown here after its completion, was garrisoned by a succession of regiments from 1862 until the end of the war. At the time of this sketch the fort may have been occupied by the Seventh New York Regiment, famous for its disciplined drill and musical skill. The *Baltimore American* reported that on June 16, 1862, "the Seventh New York Regiment made their usual dress parade . . . within the works of Federal Hill and there was scarcely less than 800 ladies and gentlemen present. Many occupied the balconies of the barracks and had a fine view of the movements. Afterwards there was a burlesque regimental parade and those who witnessed it declared that it was one of the most laughable scenes they ever witnessed. . . . The parade lasted for an hour and the performance of the band, the brass instruments consisting of long stove pipes, and the drums of empty flour barrels excited greater laughter." This bird's-eye view looking north shows the commanding position of the fort above the harbor and the city.

Baltimore American, June 17, 1862.

Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745–1918

JOSEPH L. ARNOLD

ONE OF THE CENTRAL THEMES IN AMERICAN HISTORY IS THE transformation of the society and economy from rural to urban and the conflicts generated by this change. The reluctance of rural-dominated legislatures to give cities proportionate representation or complete local autonomy has been noted by many historians, but the antagonism has been more complex than the simple rural-urban dichotomy suggests because cities have been surrounded from a very early date by large peripheral or suburban populations which followed an independent course between the distinctly urban and rural areas.

In the eighteenth century cities usually annexed only small parcels of land and there was little objection to these changes. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, as cities spread more rapidly, they introduced annexation bills in the legislature covering large areas of open land beyond the urban fringe.[1] These bills invariably became enmeshed in a three-way struggle between the city, its surrounding local governments and the other districts of the state. They provide, therefore, a unique insight into the complex adjustment of state and local government of the growth of urban regions.

The annexation issue in Maryland can be seen in sharp relief because it focused on the two largest local governments in the state—Baltimore City and surrounding Baltimore County.[2] Like most Southern states, Maryland developed no important sub-units of government within the county structure. Those living in Baltimore County's suburbs were ruled by county commissioners elected until the 1930s by a rural majority. The needs of the suburbs could not, however, be ignored by the county since they provided most of the county's tax base from 1800 onward. If suburbanites became too unhappy with county administration they could seek favorable terms of annexation to the city. City leaders were almost always anxious to expand the municipal tax base and political power, but during most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had to secure the consent of those to be annexed. The city thus had to make an offer attractive enough to win suburban favor, but not so attractive as to endanger municipal finances. The city continually tried to force annexations through the state legislature without the consent of the county and its suburbanites; but the Maryland General Assembly opposed this procedure until 1918. Baltimore County's political leaders were powerful in state politics and many other rural Maryland counties were reluctant to unite the largest concentration of voters under a single municipal

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government. The century and a half of intense belligerency between Baltimore City and Baltimore County, largely over the suburban territory, provided an important historical prespective on current city-suburban problems which plague not only Maryland and the South, but the whole nation.

1745–1817

Baltimore's eighteenth-century annexations caused no controversy because they embodied no serious financial changes. The Maryland General Assembly expanded the boundaries of Baltimore Town twelve times between 1745 and 1783, but these annexations were small in scope, shifted relatively few voters and had no significant effect on local finance. They therefore excited no discernible political controversy. Baltimore Town was established in 1730 on a sixty-acre tract of land and began to expand in 1745 when the General Assembly, at the request of residents in the contiguous village of Jonestown, annexed the ten-acre tract to Baltimore. With the exception of the Fell's Point area, the other annexations were of undeveloped tracts on the edge of town. Typically, one or more landholders would request that their tract be annexed and laid off into town lots, streets and alleys. As one tract approached total coverage another would be annexed and surveyed.[3] These tracts averaged sixty-five acres and the landowner bore the expense of surveying and street construction. There was no increased financial burden on annexed lands because Baltimore Town levied approximately the same taxes as the surrounding parishes and Baltimore County administered all major local public activities and collected the bulk of the local taxes.

The increasing size and complexity of Baltimore Town between 1776 and 1800 resulted in a fundamental restructuring of its government and its relationship to the county. Escalating public expenditures led the town fathers in 1782 to obtain from the state legislature a comprehensive tax ordinance which shifted major financial responsibility from the county to the town commissioners. As a result, municipal annexations virtually ceased because municipal residents now paid significantly higher local taxes than those living in the county. In addition, the county lost most of its taxing powers within the city limits to the town commissioners (who were superceded in 1797 by a mayor and city council). Henceforth, those residing just beyond the city line could have most of the benefits of urban life without the payment of municipal taxes.[4] The county provided only rudimentary administration in the suburbs, but residents seemed willing to accept this in return for lower taxes and freedom from municipal regulations. They were supported by rural county leaders who now wished to keep the rapidly appreciating surburban property on the Baltimore County tax rolls. Thus by the end of the Revolutionary Era, the stage was set for continuous city-county conflict.

The phenomenal growth of Baltimore City after 1776 spilled its population well beyond the municipal boundaries and by 1818 a large urban population lived in "the precincts," adjoining the city. Baltimore County appointed Precinct Commissioners who made haphazard attempts to lay out and maintain streets. The 12,000 "precincters," as they were called, comprised almost one-third of the county's population and their property accounted for over forty percent of the county's total value.[5] Inevitably, city officials sought to capture this wealth by a sweeping proposal to take in the entire area. The annexation petition sent to

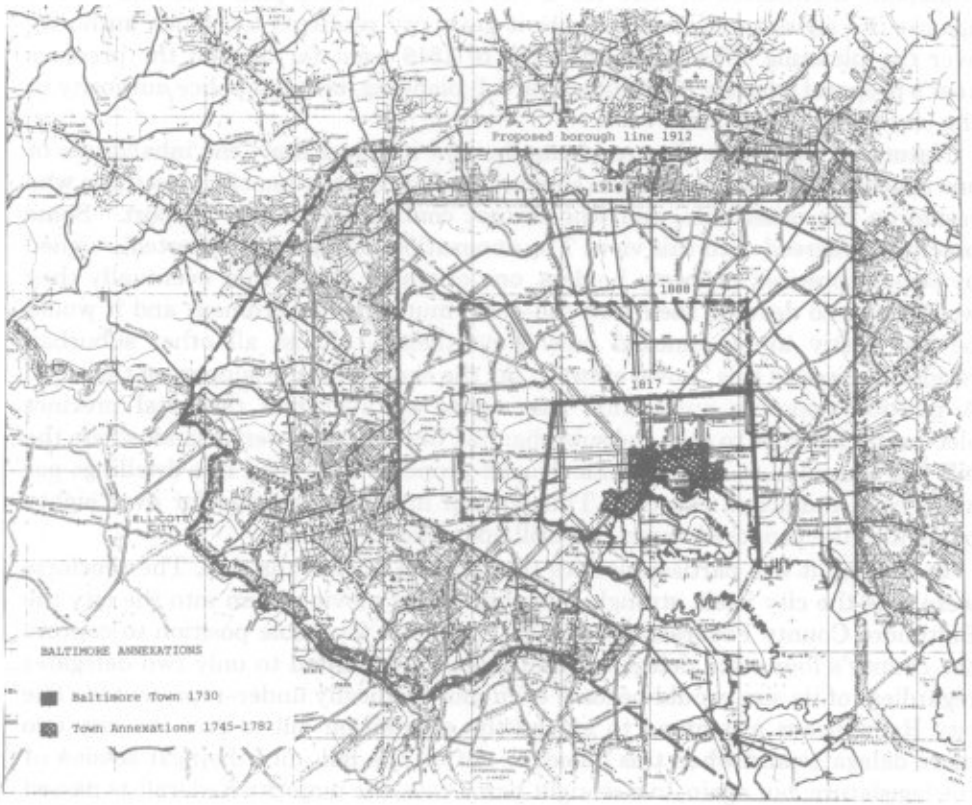
Annapolis in 1816 from the city did not, however, mention the tax issue. Rather, it focused on the need to create a coordinated physical plan for the whole urban area to prevent further disjointed development. It requested that the city boundaries be extended over the built-up area, and "also such further portion as may be deemed advisable to lay out...with a view to further improvements." The bill itself provided for outright annexation of over thirteen square miles of land and the creation of a general development plan for the entire area. The precincters all agreed on the necessity of a general development plan. They had petitioned Annapolis themselves in 1815 for a city-precinct street plan, but had turned against the legislatures's bill because it gave city residents too much authority over the planning. The annexation bill of 1816 went far beyond the previous year's proposal because it extended the full planning, tax, and police authority of the city over the precincts.[6]

Naturally, Baltimore City residents thought it unjust that "the inhabitants of one side of the street are taxed to support a police equally beneficial to those who reside on the other side, and who do not contribute to their support." Some precincters agreed with this view. The annexation petition was reportedly signed by several precinct property holders, one of whom stated that eventually they would have to develop their own full-scale municipal government and it would be less costly to be annexed now. Nevertheless, almost all other suburban residents opposed this "novel effort to tax the county for the support of the city." A petition opposing annexation was signed by over half the total precinct electorate. In order to ease the suburban tax burden on powerful landowners the bill was amended to exempt undeveloped property (less than five dwellings per acre) from municipal taxation. This was an important change for over eighty percent of the proposed annex was still open land.[7]

In the end it was partisan politics that pushed the bill through. The precincts were, like the city itself, strongly Republican. By moving them into the city the Baltimore County Federalists would be in a more favorable position to capture the county's four state delegates. Baltimore City, limited to only two delegates regardless of its size, would become even more radically under-represented. The city Republicans attempted to amend the annexation bill to give the city two more delegates and when this failed, to put off the bill until the next session of the legislature; but again, in a straight party vote, the majority Federalists passed the bill.[8] Thus, Baltimore expanded its boundaries, stated the *Nile's Weekly Register*, "against the consent of nine-tenths, perhaps, of the people" of Baltimore City and the precincts.[9]

1818–1888

The extensive territory added to the city in 1817 contained almost all urban growth within the new boundaries until after the Civil War. By the 1870's, however, the suburban problem rose again to prominence. "A new city has sprung up," commented the Baltimore *Sun* in 1873, "attractive in every respect and extending far out into Baltimore County." The Belt, as the new area was called, encircled the municipality on three sides with industrial and residential settlements of approximately 20,000 people by 1874 and twice that number a decade later. Much of the growth occurred just across the city line, but small industrial



Baltimore Annexations

and residential satellite communities spread out along the new suburban horse-carlines up the Jones Falls Valley. These areas held over one-third of the county's total citizenry, but now there property provided two-thirds of the county tax base.[10]

Cooperation between the city and county was difficult because the two units viewed each other with suspicion and hostility. In the first half of the nineteenth century the city and county continued to share the cost of several public institutions, but this caused so much conflict that in 1851 all joint facilities were separated and the county moved its government out to the small village of Towsontown seven miles north of Baltimore. While resolving the most serious financial and administrative confusion, the change could not erase the fact that both governments were trying to provide for portions of the same urban area. The county remained disturbed by Baltimore's large purchases of property beyond the city boundaries for its almshouses, parks, and water system. City taxpayers resented Belt residents using city schools, fire, police, and other facilities without contributing to their support. "They want to receive all the benefits of the city," said a municipal leader, "and then evade their share of the burdens." When the Baltimore *American* spoke in the 1870's of "the chronic hostility of feeling between Baltimore County and the city," it was summarizing a long-standing antagonism.[11]

The critical relationship during this era, however, was the one between the Belt and the rest of the county; for after the enactment of the State Constitution of 1864 no territory could be transferred from one county to another without the consent of those to be shifted. This article was inserted by Baltimore County for the purpose of rendering its most valuable territory immune from annexation. It was assumed in 1864 that Baltimore City was, for this purpose, a county. The city naturally objected and a neutral delegate from Western Maryland, speaking against the proposal, said it would forever preclude municipal expansion since "those parties who live just outside of Baltimore City will always vote to stay out to avoid the taxes." Nevertheless, the amendment passed 37-33.[12]

The county's rural Democrats and Republicans, unlike their counterparts of 1817, no longer desired to be rid of the suburban voters. Over-representation of rural districts and universal sufferage now gave them a comfortable majority in Baltimore County's government and allowed revenues from the Belt to be shifted to the less affluent agricultural sections. The level of public facilities and services in the Belt was considerably lower than they were in the city, but rural county leaders believed the suburbanites would continue to tolerate this so long as taxes remained low. Belt residents relied on their own volunteer fire and police services, but in fact it was the city fire and police that handled serious emergencies. Belt schools were poor, but many suburbanites sent their children to the city schools for a fee well below the cost of their education. They seemed to have the best of both worlds. Since the municipality was never fully reimbursed for these services nor felt they could be cut off, annexation appeared to be a logical solution from the city's point of view. A resolution to annex the Belt and a large additional territory passed the city council in 1868, but the vote was split because some believed another large annexation was financially unsound.[13] Eventually the

skeptics on the city council were won over and the city began pressing the General Assembly for an annexation law. In 1874, after a bitter struggle in the legislature between the city and the county, an act was passed expanding the city one mile to the east and west and two miles to the north; subject, of course, to the approval of a majority of voters in this area.[14]

City leaders campaigned strenuously. Belt residents were told they paid a large "tribute" to Townsontown and received nothing in return. A vote for annexation would quickly provide them all with water and sewer lines, paved and illuminated streets and sidewalks, and efficient police and fire protection. To lessen the impact of the huge tax increase (from $0.53 per $100 to $1.65) Belt residents would pay only half the city rate for ten years. As in 1817, undeveloped property (acre tracts with less than five residences) would continue to pay the county tax rate. Future tax hikes would be partially offset, it was alleged, by an increase in property values and a decline in fire insurance rates.

Baltimore County's leaders also campaigned vigorously. While making no defense of the quantity of Belt services, they skillfully exploited fears of the city proposal. The city's promise of municipal services could not be kept, they said, since their provision to newer areas of the present city was lagging. Noting the rejection of a major public improvement bond issue by Baltimore City voters in the previous election, the Towsontown *Journal* warned that such voters would never approve bond issues to bring full services to the Belt. Baltimore County's senior state senator, who had earlier characterized the city as "a sore on the body politic," labeled the ten year half-tax provision "a fraud" since it was surely unconstitutional. Belt residents would pay the full rate and small homeowners would see their property "come under the hammer" to pay the "ruinous level" of municipal taxation.[15]

In the Eastern section of the belt around the industrial settlements of Highlandtown and Canton, the extension of municipal regulations posed a threat as serious as the higher taxes. The area was a center for coal oil refineries, distilleries, breweries and slaughterhouses, "nine-tenths of which," said one refinery owner, "were driven out of the city because municipal ordinances defined them as obnoxious." City sanitary and building ordinances and the closing of saloons and beer gardens on Sundays posed a major threat to the community's economy and life style. The mere attempt of city leaders to hold a pro-annexation meeting in Highlandtown almost led to a riot, the organizers of the meeting cutting the program short and rushing back across the city line before actual violence ensued.[16]

The referendum was held May 5, 1874, but the issue may well have been decided nine days before when the city's Committee on Ways and Means announced a fifteen cent increase in the tax rate—raising the total to $1.80. The remarkably poor timing of this action undoubtedly convinced many belt residents that even at half this rate taxes would be too high and they had only verbal promises that services would be forthcoming.[17]

Annexation lost by a vote of 1,130 to 575 and the voting pattern indicates a clear consciousness of costs and benefits in the belt. Only the Western District, having close communications with the city, rather weak connections (both

physically and politically) with Towsontown and its largest industrial employers favoring annexation, voted to join the city. This section, however, was the least populated and its decision was cancelled out by the heavy anti-city vote of the North and East. Lower income industrial workers in the northern mill towns who feared tax and rent increases combined with those middle class residents who were skeptical of the promised services. The Eastern District forcefully expressed its perceived self-interest by a nine-to-one vote against annexation.

Press reactions to the election are full of insights into the perspectives of the participants. The *Sun* concluded that suburban voters could not understand their own self-interest and the issue should be decided by the General Assembly; but the *American*, with somewhat keener insight, predicted that eventually the lack of county services would drive the belt into the municipality. The *Maryland Journal*, the organ of Towsontown's ruling Democrats, noted smugly that the vote turned out "as expected" and hoped no more annexationist foolishness would be heard of. The paper held the view that no serious problems existed in the belt and it would be many decades before the lower county would become sufficiently urbanized to require fundamental administrative changes. Towsontown's Republican paper, the *Union*, was the most perceptive analyst. It warned the county's leaders that fundamental changes *were* necessary if the belt was to remain loyal to Towsontown. A fair share of taxes would have to be returned to the belt. Municipal services should be expanded and communications with the county seat improved. Its editor and its shrewd city correspondents had no illusions about the rate of future suburban expansion and its consequences for the whole region. Improved road and rail communications between the city and Towsontown would stimulate more rapid suburban growth and result in annexation proposals covering the entire lower county including perhaps even Towsontown itself. by the 1920's expansion might have spread to "all of Baltimore County" and necessitate merger of the two governments. On the other hand, if there were no further annexations, the outgrowth of population would place the majority of urban population and wealth in the county while the desperate leaders of the depleted city "humbly petition for small favors at the hand Towsontown . . ."[18]

It took fourteen years to convince the General Assembly to hold another referendum. Twice the city attempted to secure annexation by a Constitutional amendment since, as Mayor Ferdinand C. Latrobe stated in 1879, "it can scarcely be expected that our neighbors will vote to subject their property to municipal taxation." But the legislature was hesitant to act in such a seemingly undemocratic manner and refused to force residents into the city. In 1884 Latrobe returned to the referendum proposal, but this time extended the tax-relief period for twelve years and gave a specific deadline for the provision of water and sewer lines. This, thought the city delegation, was too generous and actually posed a financial threat to the municipality so they refused to act on it. In 1888, however, I. Freeman Rasin, the city's Democratic boss united the delegates behind the proposal and the state Democratic machine, led by Rasin's ally Arthur Pue Gorman, pushed it through the General Assembly. The bill was even more generous that that of 1884 or 1874. In addition to the twelve year half-tax, undeveloped block tracts with less than six houses on paved streets would remain

taxed at the 1888 county rate regardless of how long they remained undeveloped and regardless of how much the county rate increased. Also, each of the three belt districts was to vote independently and thus prevent the Eastern District from deciding what was expected to be a close vote in the other two areas.[19]

The Western and Northern Districts, with 7.5 square miles and 38,000 people, voted to enter the city while the Eastern District, by a vote far closer than predicted, remained in the county. The reasons for this change are fairly clear. First, the magnitude of the belt's urban problems had become acute. Between 1874 and 1888 approximately 10,000 houses went up in the belt and 18,000 in the city but as the municipality was approaching the end of its open residential land, the full burden of growth would shift across the city line.[20] Already, the lack of a water, sewer and sanitary inspection system infuriated belt residents and alarmed state health officials. The secretary of the State Health Board called sanitary conditions throughout the belt "very bad" and blamed Baltimore County for having "no organized health department." Second, suburban businessmen and industrialists, many of whom had opposed annexation in 1874, now strongly favored it due to their failure to gain basic public services for their plants and employees. Police and fire protection was totally inadequate and property insurance rates in the belt remained significantly higher than in the city.[21] Even with the low level of county services, the property tax was increasing. In 1885 and 1888 the county ran into serious financial trouble and failed to pay their teachers for several months. Taxes would have to go up even farther.[22] Finally, a majority of belt residents became convinced that not only would the Towsontown leaders never initiate the needed services, but were unwilling to let the belt provide them on their own. A bill creating a "Belt Commission" somewhat like the old precinct commissioners was introduced in the 1886 session of the legislature. The rural districts of the county regarded this commissioner bill as a grab for county patronage jobs and had it killed. The bill had been drawn up by a number of belt residents, but other suburbanites refused to support it because it didn't give the belt enough autonomy. Clearly, many belt residents had reached the conclusion that annexation was the only alternative.[23] The conviction grew stronger by 1888. One prominent belt resident put the issue squarely before a mass meeting just a few days before the election.

> I have, in half a lifetime, seen the cornfields of this neighborhood give way to rows of houses, but for twenty years our government has been the same. The population has steadily increased, but there has been no corresponding progress in methods of government regarding sanitation, schools and other departments. No matter how willing the county commissioners may be to do what you want, they have neither the money nor the authority to comply.[24]

Election results in the North and West were quite close to what several observers had predicted. The results when compared to 1874, are revealing.

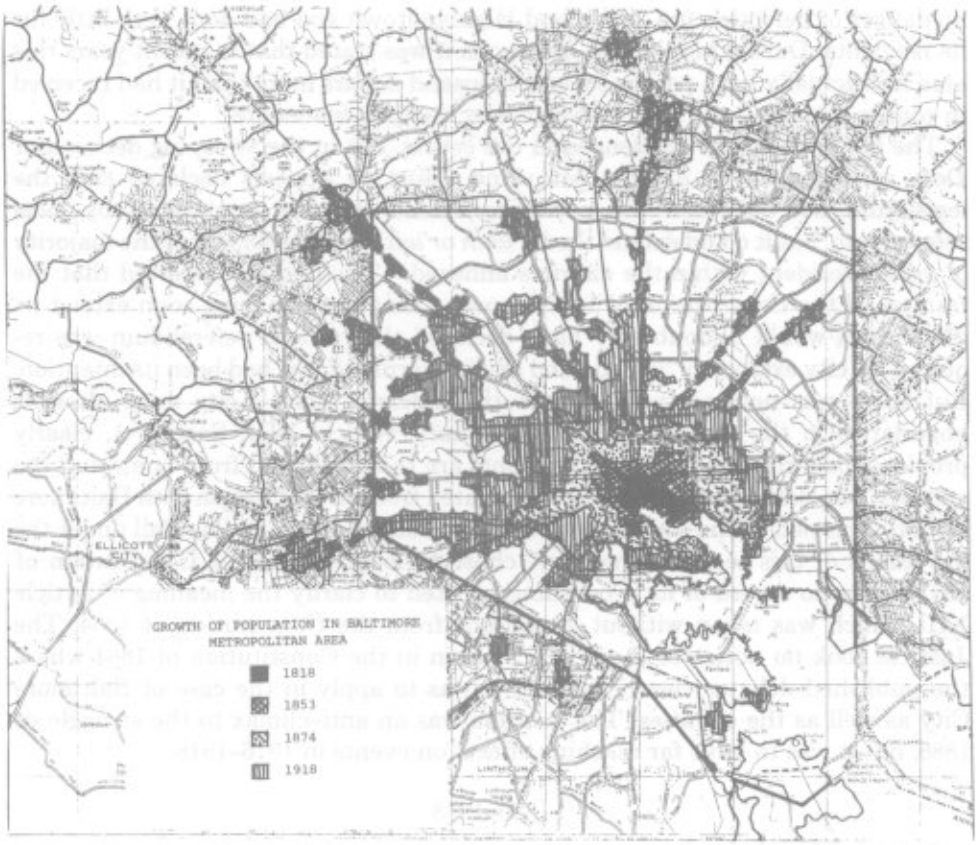
Section	For Annexation	1874 Against Annexation	% For Annexation	For Annexation	1888 Against Annexation	% For Annexation
Western	116	81	58%	613	423	59%
Northern	400	1003	40%	1896	1538	55%
Eastern	64	505	12%	317	485	40%
TOTAL	575	1130	33%	2826	2446	53%

As in 1874, the vote in each district correlates with its particular tax and service situations. The Western District continued its support for annexation even though the county had been expending more funds there lately than it had been collecting. In the northern section the results were somewhat disappointing to the annexationists. The factory owners had even closed their plants on election day, but many industrial workers and poor black voters, reportedly still fearing tax and rent increases, voted against annexation.[25] The major surprise was in the eastern section where annexation received 40% of the vote. County leaders felt there was no danger of defection in Canton and Highlandtown and had done very little for its residents. During hearings in Annapolis it was stated that in recent years this area had actually been paying several thousand dollars more than it had received in county services—the level of which was woefully inadequte.

The annexation was challenged in the courts, but in the sweeping decision of *Daly vs. Morgan, et. al.,* the Maryland Court of Appeals declared that the legislature not only had the power to extend the city boundaries by local referendum, but it could extend them "*with or without the consent* of the majority of voters resident within the districts annexed." The decision asserted that the framers of the Constitution of 1867, knowing that the city must soon extend its boundaries would undoubtedly have declared that a local referendum was required for city extension "in plain and explicit terms" if this had been its intention. But there was nothing in the consitution inferring that a city must alter its boundaries in the same manner as a county. Article XIII, Section 1, clearly provides for a referendum when residents are to be changed from one *county* to another; but Baltimore City, though separated from any affiliation with Baltimore County, was not, in the court's view, legally a county and so did not fall under the provisions of this section. The court chose to look only at the Constitution of 1867 where no record of its proceedings existed to clarify the meaning of Article XIII, which was taken without alterations from the Constitution of 1864. The Justices took no notice of the article's origin in the Constitution of 1864 where the published debates clearly indicate it was to apply in the case of Baltimore City as well as the counties. The decision was an anti-climax to the struggle of 1888; but it was to have far reaching effects on events in 1916–1918.[26]

1889–1918

Baltimore's 1888 annexation took in over two-thirds of the suburban area opened by the horsecar lines between 1865 and 1888, but the lines were electrified and expanded in the 1890's and a new suburban belt grew up beyond the municipal boundaries. By 1910 motor venhicles and improved roads opened an even larger area. This should logically have led to another urban-services crisis in Baltimore County leading to annexation; but conditions had changed significantly in the intervening years. The new middle class suburban areas in the North and West had developed strong neighborhood organizations which combined into the powerful Baltimore County Civic Federation of Improvement and Protective Associations. The Civic Federation, along with a more progressive political leadership in Towson raised taxes and improved conditions in many ways. In middle class areas a patchwork system of sewers had been constructed jointly by the county and private developers while other companies supplied the



Growth of Population in Baltimore Metropolitan Area
Joshua Barney

other utilities. County schools in the suburban areas were now much improved since the 1880's. Police protection hardly existed in 1888 and while still modest was supplemented by the new Maryland State Police. In 1913 county fire protection was sufficient to bring a reduction in property insurance rates. Suburbanites still lacked a comprehensive utility system and the general level of services was not equal to the better areas of Baltimore City, but there were enough facilities for satisfactory living. The majority were against annexation even though the tax increase would have been proportionately much less than 1888.[27]

Quite the opposite trend developed in the industrial suburbs of the East and in Curtis Bay in Anne Arundel County. The Highlandtown–Canton area contained 35,000 people who lived without sewers, adequate fire or police protection and school buildings that were a health and fire hazard. Too poor to build its own sewer system, it sought a county bond issue for that purpose in 1914; but the upcounty farmers and middle class suburbanites defeated it. The editor of the Highlandtown newspaper told a city official the majority of residents were now eager for annexation and it was rumored that the county would be happy to let it go since large expenditures would ultimately have to be made there. At Curtis Bay residents actually petitioned the city for annexation; but to no avail.[28] City leaders were disturbed by conditions in these two suburbs. Curtis Bay and Canton were developing in a haphazard manner beyond the control of the Baltimore Harbor Authority and Highlandtown, a major center of crime and vice, was a continual problem to city authorities. Nevertheless, it would have been financially unsound for the city leaders to take these two problem-ridden suburbs into the municipality without at the same time annexing the wealthier suburbs.

The first step towards annexation was taken by Baltimore's Merchants and Manufacturers Association, but it had little to do with questions of regional planning or municipal services. The BMMA was dismayed that the city had been pushed back into seventh place by Pittsburgh's "mad rush to absorb adjacent towns" prior to the census of 1910. The Association said it was not seeking bigness for its own sake, but simply accepted what was perceived to be the realities of national competition. "While the basis may be wrong," the BMMA journal stated, "cities are largely judged . . . upon population. It matters not what we think of the measure of estimate, that it is in vogue is a fact." The decline of Baltimore to tenth or twelfth place in 1920 would show the whole world Baltimore was a "slow place" and this would "do the state and the city incalculable harm."[29]

The BMMA naturally turned to the city delegation in Annapolis to push through an annexation bill in 1912, but Baltimore's politicians showed little interest. While the BMMA was interested only in the population issue, municipal officials were primarily concerned with its financial implications. Many city leaders had concluded that the annexation of 1888 had forced the city to spend more in the annex than it was able to recover in revenue. Baltimore's taxpayers, they thought, would strongly resist taking in any new territories that would not clearly pay their way or hopefully help shoulder the spiraling municipal debt—just then approaching one hundred million dollars.[30]

The situation was also complicated by the city's Democratic political leader,

Mayor James Preston. Preston had been elected for the first time in 1911 on the dubious promise of improving facilities and services without raising taxes. Neither he nor any of his opponents even mentioned annexation during the campaign. It was probably the political implications of annexation that first interested the mayor in the proposal. It was widely known that Preston wished to become the state boss. By placing all of Baltimore's suburbs within the municipality he could conceivably become leader of the majority of the state's Democrats.[31] With these cross-currents swirling around the annexation issue it is not surprising that the legislation took eight years of labyrinthine political maneuvering and almost broke up the state Democratic party.

Preston's first annextion plan was geographically comprehensive, but created many problems. He proposed establishing four large boroughs around the existing municipality encompassing an area of almost 150 square miles. The boroughs would (for census purposes) become part of the city; but would retain substantial local political and financial autonomy. The city would provide a limited number of services in return for a small portion of borough revenues. The city delegation, presented with the bill in the midst of the 1912 legislative session, gave it little consideration and it never came out of committee. Nevertheless, Preston began drumming up local support for the plan in 1913. After some preliminary endorsements on both sides of the city line, opinion gradually shifted against the proposal. Suburbanites feared they would end up subsidizing the city and municipal taxpayers feared the reverse. The President of the Baltimore County Civic Federation told Preston that suburbanites would favor the bill if it provided for local referendums on all changes in the status of the boroughs; but the mayor refused to tie the city's hands in this way.[32] In 1914 Preston brought out a revised borough bill. It took in a somewhat smaller territory and put a ceiling on borough tax rates; but this was too generous for municiapl leaders. Several city leaders openly opposed it and even Preston's loyal city solicitor voiced his private doubts. As might be expected, the bill again failed in Annapolis.[33]

The following year Preston gave up the borough plan and allowed city leaders to draft a traditional annexation proposal. It took in roughly thirty-five square miles of Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties and gave only a short-term tax break to the suburbanites. The proposal mandated a city referendum on the question, but did not allow those to be annexed to vote in it. The proposal was authored by the Baltimore City-wide Congress, an organization composed of civic, business and middle class neighborhood groups.[34] The business sector had now come to see the advantages of a more traditional extension of the full authority if the city—particularly in regard to Baltimore's harbor area. The "helter-skelter development" of the shoreline outside the city limits (and thus beyond the authority of the city's harbor board) threatened by 1915 to impede the efficiency of Baltimore's trade facilities. Neither Baltimore or Anne Arundel counties showed any interest in developing a master plan for the whole port.[35]

The new annexation proposal became a central issue in the state-wide election of 1915 and the city suffered a major defeat in the contest. Comptroller Emerson Harrington, running for Governor in the Democratic primary, won the firm support of Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties by opposing the city annexation

plan. Mayor Preston backed Blaire Lee, a candidate publicly committed to city extension. Harrington campaigned more against Preston than Lee, urging voters not to allow the state to be "run from City Hall." Lee was thought to be running a close race with Harrington in the counties; therefore the comptroller made a bid for the Baltimore vote by announcing his support for some plan that would give the city control of the harbor area. Harrington also allied himself with an anti-Preston faction in the city machine led by Frank Kelly. The strategy worked well. He picked up just enough votes in Baltimore to combine with his unexpectedly large majority in the counties—thanks in part to Baltimore County's 9–1 vote in his favor. At the Democratic convention Harrington's supporters drew up an annexation plank that pledged the party to a "reasonable extension" of the city to allow it "complete control of the harbor." The Republicans, hoping to roll up a large vote in Baltimore County, pledged that they would allow no annexation without a local referendum as in 1888. In November Harrington defeated the Republican Governor, Philip Lee Goldsborough, by a scant 3,744 votes. While winning in Baltimore City by 2,562 votes, it was not the crucial margin of victory. His fundamental debt was owed to Baltimore and Anne Arundel County leaders whose support had given him the primary victory.[36]

Leadership in Baltimore had been fractured by the primary contest and therefore the 1916 session of the General Assembly was presented with two annexation bills drawn by the two major factions in the city. The first was the City-wide Congress bill. The second was drawn up by a group that included both Preston (as a silent partner) and the senior city senator, Frank Furst, who had been Harrington's campaign manager.[37] The city delegation finally gave its support to the Furst bill. It gave a better tax break to the suburbanites and thus overcame objections from other state legislators that the city was simply trying to shift its financial problems onto Baltimore County taxpayers. The tax provision, however, was distinctly unpopular with most city property owners outside the business elite.[38]

The city's business and political leaders convinced enough legislators to advance the measure to its third reading in the senate where, after breaking a Baltimore–Anne Arundel County filibuster, its passage seemed assured.[39] But on the final vote two Harrington men from the Eastern Shore reversed their vote and killed the measure. Another Harrington man from Baltimore City quickly introduced a new annexation bill in the lower house giving the city (subject to a referendum in the annex), a narrow strip of industrial land around the harbor; but none of the middle class suburbs. Furst and his supporters as well as the City-wide Congress were dumbfounded and furious at the governor whom they publicly blamed for scuttling the city's annexation plan and substituting "a counterfeit bill" in the house. The session ended with bitter attacks by city legislators on Harrington and his associates in the assembly.[40]

With only one more opportunity to expand Baltimore's boundaries before the 1920 census, the Merchants and Manufacturers Association launched an all-out campaign to wrest an annexation bill from the Harrington administration. The association formed a state-wide organization called the Non-partisan Greater Baltimore League. While claiming 10,000 members by 1918, the league was a

businessmen's and politician's organization. Two-thirds of the league's directors were BMMA members and the league's executive secretary worked closely with the association's chief lobbyist.[41] At a large public meeting in June, 1917, the league approved a bill that annexed (without a referendum) an area almost twice the size of the old Furst bill (46.5 square miles of Baltimore County and 5.4 square miles of Anne Arundel County). Taxpayers in the new annex would begin paying sixty percent of the full city rate in 1919 which would increase two percent a year until 1939 when they would pay the full rate. As provided in the 1916 bill, city tax exemptions for manufacturing equipment would extend to the annex, but city nuisance ordinances would not be enforced against existing businesses in the area—the latter a concession to large slaughterhouses and distilleries in the industrial suburbs.[42]

The league's annexation bill caused strong repercussions throughout the state. It was predictably condemned by suburbanites and officials of both parties in Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties, praised by the Preston machine and criticized by Governor Harrington and the allied Kelly faction of the city Democrats.

Harrington's forces, however, dominated the 1917 state Democratic convention and booed the very mention of Preston's name. It pushed through an annexation plank opposing any city extension that did not allow a local referendum in the suburbs. Preston's men bolted the party and condemned Harrington for "making war upon Baltimore."[43] The Republicans whose convention had not yet met, were elated. Former Republican Mayor Timanus (a leading member of the Nonpartisan Greater Baltimore League) told reporters, "it gives the Republicans a golden opportunity and I hope they take advantage of the mistakes of the Democrats." The Republican convention, in a complete about-face, endorsed the league's bill. Only the Baltimore County Republicans and a few die-hard anti-urbanites criticized what they called a "shameful deal" between the Republicans and "boss" Preston.[44]

The Greater Baltimore League spent a great deal of money and effort around the state explaining the annexation issue. Voters in rural areas were assured that under the Maryland Constitution Baltimore City would never be given a majority of legislative seats even though annexation might ultimately give it more than half the state's population. Failure to expand the city, they were warned, would seriously retard the whole state economy and every county would suffer. It was admitted that suburbanites would pay a price for the change, but the league argued that this was not unfair. As the former Chief Judge of Baltimore's Supreme Bench, Henry D. Harlan, said in a widely quoted public statement:

> Those who locate near the city limits are bound to know that the time may come when the legislature will extend the limits and take them in. No principle of right or justice or fairness places in their hands the power to stop the progress and development of the city, especially in view of the fact that a large majority of them have located near the city for the purpose of getting the benefit of transacting business or securing employment or following their profession in the city.[45]

The split in the state Democratic party, which was widened by the annexation issue, resulted in the Republicans capturing sixteen of the city's twenty-four

delegates and gaining control of the lower house 55–47. The Democratic majority in the state senate was cut to a single vote. Considering that the city delegation in the previous legislature had been Democratic by a margin of 14–10 and the whole House of Delegates by 56–44, the change spelled victory for annexation.[46]

When the 1918 session of the General Assembly opened in January the annexationists were poised for action. The few Republicans who appeared reluctant to vote for House Bill No. 1 (The Greater Baltimore Bill) were counterbalanced by the Preston Democrats. In the House, where the bill finally passed 61–36, all the Republicans but one voted for it along with six of the eight city Democrats (the two holdouts being Kelly faction men). The Senate began debate on the bill amidst rumors that the Baltimore and Anne Arundel County Democrats were attempting to strike a bargain with the prohibitionists whereby votes would be traded to stop both annexation and the sale of liquor. Simultaneously, Baltimore County's senators introduced a substitute annexation bill similar to the Greater Baltimore proposal, but giving the city only seventeen square miles of territory in a narrow strip around the harbor. It was a last-ditch effort by the county to protect its middle class residential areas.[47] Senator Furst, manager of the Greater Baltimore Bill, was disgusted. He told reporters:

> If they [the anti-annexationist Democrats] can't see for themselves that the defeat of annexation will mean the disruption of the Democratic Party in this state . . . they can remain blind for all I care . . . if the party leaders want to commit party suicide they can do it and go hang themselves for all I care.[48]

Fortunately for the annexationists, the prohibition forces already had enough votes to approve their bill so they did not need to make any deals. The BMMA lobbied heavily, Preston pleaded with uncommitted Democratic senators and former Republican Governor Goldsborough, who kept in close tough with the mayor, used his influence very successfully with the Republicans.[49] Every one of the seven new Republicans voted for the bill as did three of the six new Democrats. Of those who sat in the 1916 session, three Republicans and one Democrat switched over to annexation. The final vote was 18–9. Baltimore and Anne Arundel officials made frantic appeals to Harrington, but the governor, trimming his sails to the new legislative winds, had stated at the opening of the 1918 session that if any annexation bill passed he would feel compelled to sign it—which he did.[50] The constitutionality of the act was challenged, but it was upheld by Maryland's highest tribunal on the basis of the 1888 *Daly vs. Morgan* decision.[51]

The 1918 annexation, however, led no one to believe that the city-suburban problem had been permanently resolved. Following the passage of the 1918 act, property holders just beyond the new boundaries were reported to be "simply delighted" since "another belt will spring up soon and their holdings will be in demand." As the editor of the *Union-News* had preceived when the bill was first introduced, its passage would simply drive more affluent residents further out "while the poor man must remain where he is."[52] The growth of new county suburbs was cut short by the depression and war, but after 1945 construction across the city line boomed once again and prompted one of the county's alert state senators to act. Senator William Bolton, recalling how in 1918 the city

"successfully exploited a loophole in the constitution of annex some of the most valuable portions of Baltimore and Anne Arundel Counties," introduced a constitutional amendment specifically prohibiting Baltimore City from extending its boundaries without the consent of those to be annexed. The city's leaders, apparently convinced that the city was large enough already, made no effort to block the proposal and it passed overwhelmingly.[53]

City officials, from the mayor on down, took no interest in the question. The Baltimore Chamber of Commerce took no position. Like many middle class urbanities, Baltimore's businessmen were moving both their families and enterprises out into the county. The *Sunpapers*, while opposing the amendment, said further annexations were "impractical" since the city's problems were better solved by a regional government than by further annexations. Even the city voters showed relatively little concern over the closing of the annexation option. Almost one-third favored the amendment. In the required state-wide referendum the city voted 70,409-47,893 against the amendment and 14,000 passed over the question. In Baltimore county a record 93% turnout voted 51,889-9,722 in favor. The state-wide total was 139,974-103,687 with the suburban counties voting most heavily for the amendment.[54]

The last time the question of Baltimore City and its surrounding counties was interjected into state politics occurred during the debate on the new state constitution in 1967-1968. The constitution was the result of a major effort by popularly elected delegates. It allowed the legislature to create "regional governments" in heavily unbanized areas of the state without a local referendum. Baltimore County's leaders declared it to be a thinly veiled annexation threat and vigorously opposed it. The two-to-one vote against the constitution in Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties was a major factor in its rejection by the state's voters.[55]

The history of Baltimore City annexations thus appears ended since further annexations have become politically impossible. But even if the city were able to annex the most heavily built-up areas in lower Baltimore County and North Anne Arundel County, those who could afford to escape will simply move further back into the surrounding counties taking with them the jobs, shopping centers and good schools. Even the merger of Baltimore City and Baltimore County would not provide a permanent solution since suburban population has long since spilled over into four other adjoining counties. A change of genuinely historic proportions has occurred. The very basis upon which Baltimore City was established as a separate political entity in the 1790's—its fundamentally urban character which set its life apart from the surrounding agricultural region—no longer exists. There is once again little difference between the landscape of the municipality and the surrounding region. In the eighteenth century trees and meadows reached down into the very center of Baltimore Town. Now the regional city's houses, stores and factories are spilled across the land in five surrounding counties. As a result of this profound change, not only has the tool of annexation been lost as a practical administrative device; but the very concept of a separate municipality in the center of the Baltimore urban region seems now a historic anachronism. That this irrational and wasteful system will probably remain for

years to come is not difficult to predict since its evolution has always been primarily determined by self-interest and political expediency.

References

1. There are no comprehensive histories of either suburban growth or municipal annexations. Two of the most recent analyses of these subjects are David G. Bromley and Joel Smith, "The Historical Significance of Annexation as a Social Process," *Land Economics* 49 (1973): 294–309; and Kenneth T. Jackson, "Metropolitan Government Versus Suburban Autonomy: Politics on the Crabgrass Frontier," in Kenneth T. Jackson and Stanley Schultz, ed., *Cities in American History* (New York, 1972), pp. 442–462.
2. Baltimore County, exclusive of the city, maintained the largest population of any county in the state from 1800 to 1960 with the exception of the period 1818–1830 when, due to annexation of population by Baltimore City, it fell to second place. In spite of two much larger annexations in 1888–1918 Baltimore County remained far ahead of all the others until the 1950's when the Washington, D.C., suburban boom pushed Montgomery into first place.
3. *Laws of Maryland*, 1729, Ch. 12; 1745, Ch. 9; 1747, Ch. 21; 1750, Ch. 11; 1753, Ch. 20; 1765, Ch. 2; 1766, Ch. 22; 1773, June Sess., Ch. 4; 1781, November Sess., Ch. 24; 1782, April Sess., Ch. 2; 1782, November Sess., Ch. 8; Ch. 11.
4. *Laws of Maryland* 1783, Ch. 21; Jacob Hollander, *The Financial History of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1899), pp. 21–22, 41–42.
5. Wilber F. Coyle, ed., *Records of the City of Baltimore: Eastern and Western Precinct Commissioners, 1810–1817*, (Baltimore, 1909).
6. *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland*, November Sess., 1815, 129; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, January 10, December 17, 20, 31, 1816, January 1, 1817 [hereafter cited as *Federal Gazette*]; *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, February 27, 1815 [hereafter cited as *Baltimore American*]; Anon, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Late Act of the Legislature for Incorporating the Precincts with the City of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1817), pamphlet in Toner Collection, Rare Book Room, Library of Congress. The pamphlet contains an introduction by Luther Martin, a leading Maryland Democrat.
7. *Laws of Maryland*, 1816, December Sess., Ch. 209, Sec. 6, *Federal Gazette*, December 11, 17, 31, 1816; January 3, 8, 20, 29, 30; February 18, 1817, Baltimore *American* , November 27, 1816 [hereafter cited as *American*].
8. *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, November Sess., 1816, 103–104; Anon., *Inquiry into the Late Act of the Legislature; Federal Gazette*, December 17, 31, 1816; January 3, February 14, 1817; *American*, February 5, 1817.
9. *Nile's Weekly Register*, March 1, 1817, 16.
10. *Baltimore Sun*, February 24, 1873; March 4, 1884 [hereafter cited as *Sun*].
11. John T. Scharf, *A History of Baltimore City and County*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1881) 1: 62–63, 111–112; Clayton Colman Hall, *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, 3 vols. (New York, 1912) I, 151; *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Maryland*, 1864 (Annapolis, 1864), III, 1693; Baltimore *American*, February 3, 1817, January 10, 23, February 4, 5, 10, 1874.
12. *Debates of the Constitutional Convention*, 1864 (Annapolis, 1864), III: 1692–1693; the amendment became Article X Section 1 of the Constitution of 1864 and was retained as Article XIII Section 1 of the Constitution of 1867 which remains Maryland's fundamental law today.
13. Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, (1867–1868), 145; *Journal of Proceedings of the First Branch City Council*, (1867–1868) 152, 275, 300, 318; *Sun*, January 23, February 8, 1868.
14. *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, January Sess., 1874, 430, 514–516, 706; *Journal of Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland*, January Sess., 1874, 865–869, 907–914; *Laws of the State of Maryland*, (1874) Ch. 224. *Sun*, February 2, 1872, February 20, 27, 28, March 12, 14, April 3, 4, 1874; *American*, February 2, 1872, February 20, April 3, 1874; *Maryland Journal* (Towsontown), April 4, May 2, 1874.
15. During the six weeks between the passage of the act and the referendum over one hundred articles and editorials appeared in the *Sun*, and the *American* and the two county newspapers.
16. One of the City Senators told the somewhat inebriated assembly that with annexation they would have pure piped water instead of polluted wells; but the crowd shouted back, "We don't want it, we have plenty of beer!" *Sun*, April 21, 1874; *American*, April 17, 21, 1874.
17. *Sun*, May 6, 1874; *American*, May 6, 1874.
18. *Sun*, May 16, 1874; *American*, May 16, 1874; *Maryland Journal*, May 16, 1874; *Baltimore County Union*, May 16, 30, March 21, June 6, 1874.

19. *Message of the Mayor of Baltimore City* (1879), 53; (1880), 55–56; (1884), 42–43; (1886), 76; (1887), 29–30; (1888), *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, January Sess., 1888, 90–91, 373–374, 383–386, *Senate of Maryland*, January Sess., 1888, 495–498, 539–547, 569–570, *Laws of Maryland*, (1888) Ch. 98; *Sun*, Janaury 14, 18, 20, March 15, 1880, *Laws of Maryland*, (1888) Ch. 98; *Sun*, January 14, 18, 20, March 15, 1880, February 8, 27, March 4, 5, 11, 24, 31, April 1, 1884, January 26, 28, Februrary 1, 2, 9, 15, 16, March 8, 14, 1888; *American*, January 20, 26, 27, February 2, 4, 16, 1888; *Maryland Journal*. January 5, March 1, April 5, 1884, January 27, March 23, April 6, 1886, January 28, February 4, 11, 18, March 10, 17, 1888; *Baltimore County Union*, March 6, 20, 1880, January 7, March 25, 1882, February 9, 23, March 1, 8, 15, April 5, 1884, January 24, 31, February 7, 14, 21, March 7, 1888.
20. Housing figures are compiled from the Mayor's annual messages, 1874–1888 and computed from population figures in the belt translanted into housing units at the city ratio of 4.4 persons per dwelling unit. For description of the city and suburban building boom of the 1880s see the *Sun* March 11, 1880, February 14, March 25, 1884, June 1, 1887 and January 20, 1888.
21. *Ibid.*, May 30, June 2, 1887; the views of the major factory owners are contained in an interview with their official spokesman and the report of his testimony on behalf of the 1888 annexation bill which appeared in the *Sun* December 17, 1887, and March 1, 1888; the problems of crime and fire protection are discussed on April 23, 29, 30, 1881, January 20, February 23, March 2, 12, April 29, 30, 1885.
22. *Message of the Mayor of Baltimore City*, (1887), 29–30; *Sun*, April 16, 18, 1885, January 26, 1888; *American*, January 26, 1888.
23. *Sun*, January 13, 15, February 4, 8, 12, 19, 23, 24, 1886; *Baltimore County Union*, January 23, 30, February 6, 13, 20, March 6, 1886.
24. *Sun*, May 10, 1888.
25. *Sun*, May 16, 1888; *American*, May 16, 1888.
26. *Daly vs. Morgan*, et. al., Md. 69 (1888); *Sun*, November 24, 1888; *Message of the Mayor of Baltimore City*, (1889), 83.
27. There is no study of Baltimore's suburban expansion, but a graphic portrait of real estate development in the metropolitan area can be seen in local atlases of the 1890–1915 era. Brief descriptions appear in Hall, *Baltimore: Its History and Its People,* I: 279–280; *The Union-News* (Towson) November 19, 1910; the *Baltimore News*, April 18, 1914. Activities of the state and county roads departments can be found in Maryland State Roads Commission, *Annual Reports* (1908–1915); *The Union-News*, March 7 1914; *The New Era* (Towson), February 6, 1915. Descriptions of the improved county services are found in the *Sun*, January 5, 21, February 24, July 1, 1913 and *The Union-News*, February 28, 1914.
28. George A. Frick to Mayor James H. Preston, Container 6, File 53, Correspondence of Mayor James Preston, Baltimore City Archives; *Sun*, May 13, 15, 1914, February 23, 1916; *The New Era*, May 16, 23, 1914, October 2, 9, 23, November 11, 1915.
29. Baltimore Merchant's and Manufacturer's Association, *Baltimore*, IV, (November, 1910) 6, 21; V (February, 1912) 2; William H. Thomas, *Greater Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1918), pp 78–79; S. S. Field, *For a Greater Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1916), p. 9.
30. A special city tax commission reported in 1908 that the annex acquired in 1888 had not paid for its services. By obtaining special legislation in Annapolis in 1902 it was still paying the old 1888 county rate in spite of the fact that the annexation act had stipulated the full rate after 1900. By 1908 the annex was paying a lower rate than property in the county! In 1913 the Baltimore City-wide Congress issued a report highly critical of the 1888 act which opened the door to a protracted litigation to tax the annex at the same rate as the rest of the municipality. The annex did not pay the full rate until 1939. See Advisory Commission on Taxation and Revenue, *Report of the Committee on Relations of the City and Suburbs,* (Baltimore, 1913), 5–6; Leonard O. Rea, *The Financial History of Baltimore*, 1900–1926 (Baltimore, 1929), pp. 18–19, 65–69. A pamphlet published in 1916 by the Anti-Annexationist Association of Baltimore County began with the following: "The City Needs You to Pay a Debt of About $100,000,000. The County Has No Debt. Where Do You Prefer to Be;?" Pamphlet in Preston Correspondence, Container 9, File 68, Baltimore City Archives.
31. James B. Crooks, *Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895–1911* (Baton Rouge, 1968), pp. 84–107.
32. Mayor Preston to George A. Frick, February 24, 1912; W. E. Levering to Mayor Preston, April 3, 1913; George A. Frick to Mayor Preston, April 18, 1913; John Trainor, President Baltimore Civic Federation to Mayor Preston, November 1, 1913, Preston Correspondence, Container 6, file 53 Baltimore City Archives; James H. Preston, *First Annual Message of Mayor James H. Preston,* April 18, 1913, 34; *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, January Sess., 1912, 1329, 1561; *Sun*, February 9, 10, March 7, 8, 9, 21, 1912; *The Union-News*, February 10, December 3, 1912, March 23, 1918.

33. S. Field to Mayor Preston, January 17, 1914, Mayor Preston to S. S. Field, January 9, 1914, Preston Correspondence, Container 6, File 53-A Baltimore City Archives; *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, January Sess., 1914, 1159, 2826; *Sun*, January 2, 15, 24, April 2, 1914; *American*, April 2, 1914; *Baltimore News*, April 2, 1914.
34. City-Wide Congress, *Report of the Committee on Enlarging the Boundaries of Baltimore City*, May 20, 1915; Sn, June 1, 1915.
35. Baltimore City Harbor Board, *The Port of Baltimore*, (Baltimore, April, 1918), 18-19; *Sun*, July 2, 14, 23, 1915.
36. *Sun*, June 8, 20, 24, July 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 28, 29, September 11, 12, 16, 17, November 4, 1915; *The Baltimore News*, June 1, 2, 21, July 15, 16, 23, September 16, 17, 1915; *American*, July 16, September 13, 24, 25, November 4, 1915; *The New Era*, October 9, 16, 23, November 6, 1915.
37. In an effort to convince legislators that the bill was not connected with the mayor, its sponsors never mentioned Preston's name, he never spoke publicly on the bill, and left the country while the matter was debated in Annapolis. C. M. Harwood, Editor, Baltimore *News* to Mayor Preston, January 8, 1916, Preston Correspondence, Container 9, File 68-B, Baltimore City Archives.
38. Field, *A Greater Baltimore*, pp.3-6, 9-10, 15-18; *Sun*, November 26, 1915, January 25, February 4, 5, 23, March 9, 11, 23, 27, 29, 1916; *American*, February 5, 23, 1916; *The Baltimore News*, Janaury 25, February 23, March 22, 23, 1916; *Union-News*, January 29, February 26, 1916.
39. A filibuster was the only tactic the suburbanites could muster towards the end of the debates. Attempts to meet the annexationists' arguments often became ludicrous as in the case of advertisement in the *Sun* stating that "A larger city doesn't always mean a greater city. Peking, China, has a population twice as large as Baltimore, but who wants to live in Peking?" *Sun*, January 26, 1916, November 5, 1917. A more imaginative tactic of the county leaders was to take over a hundred state legislators on a tour of undeveloped land within the 1888 boundaries of the city to indicate that the city still had much room for expansion. In response the city published figures from the Census Bureau showing Baltimore to have the highest population density of any large city in the United States. *Sun*, March 19, 21, 1916.
40. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland*, January Sess., 916, 855-862, 864-871, 873-888, 1013-1014; *Sun*, March 2, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, April 1, 2, 3, 6; *American*, March 23, 24, April 1, 2; *The Baltimore News*, March 23, 24, 31, April 1, 2; *The Union-News*, March 4, 25; *News Era*, April 1, 8, 1916.
41. James H. Preston, *Eighth Annual Message*, October 1, 1918, 104; *Baltimore*, XI, (April, 1918), 22-23; Thomas, *Greater Baltimore*, 1-8.
42. Thomas, *Greater Baltimore*, 8-21; *Sun*, June 8, 1917; *American*, June 8, 1917. On the exemption of the new annex from municipal nuisance ordinances see Mayor Preston to A. N. Bastable, Pres., Union Stockyards Company, January 14, 1916, Preston Correspondence, Container 9, File 68-B, Baltimore City Archives.
43. *Sun*, September 12, 13, 20, 21, 22, 23, 23, 1917; *American*, September 12, 21, 22, 23, 1917; *The Baltimore News*, September 9, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 24, 1917.
44. *Sun*, September 13, 25, 26, 1917; *American*, September 24, 25, 26, 1917; *News*, September 21, 25, 26, 1917; *The Union-News*, September 15, 22, 29, 1917.
45. *Sun*, September 18, 1917.
46. *Sun*, November 1, 2, 5, 8, 1917; *American*, November 5, 8, 1917; *The Baltimore News*, 5, 6, 8, 1917; *The Union-News*, November 5, 12, 1917.
47. *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, January Sess., 1918, 143, 158-163, 171-181, 201-202; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland*, Janaury Sess., 1918, 481-503; *Sun*, January 1, 2, 4, 7,11, 17, 24, 26, 29, 31, February 2, 7, 10, 16, 19, 22, March 8, 12, 13, 14, 1918; *American*, January 4, 29, 30, March 12, 13, 1918; *The Union-News*, January 12, 26, February 2, March 9, 23, 1918; *New Era*, Frebruary 2, 9, March 9, 16, 1918.
48. *Sun*, March 8, 1917.
49. Mayor Preston to Hon. P. L. Goldsborough, March 14, 1918, Preston Correspondence, Container 10, File 68-C, Baltimore City Archives. Also in this file is an extensive correspondence between the Mayor and political leaders in the counties regarding the annexation bill. See also the *Sun*, Janaury 29, March 14, 19, 21, 22, 1918.
50 *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland*, January Sess., 1918, 720-752; *Sun*, March 22, 28, 30, 1918; *American*, March 22, 1918, *The Baltimore News*, March 23, 1918; *The Union-News*, March 23, 1918; *New Era*, March 23, 30, 1918. The annexation act is found in *Laws of Maryland* (1918) Ch. 82.
51. *McGraw vs. Merryman*, et. al., Med. 133 (1918). *Sun*, April 19, May 30, June 4, 5, 26, July 4, 11, August 4, 1918.
52. *Sun*, March 23, 1918; *The Union-News*, May 26, 1917.
53. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland*, January Sess., 1947, 1316-1319, 1478-1479, 1926; *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, January Sess., 1947,

2042, 2415, 2576. The only press coverage of the debate in Annapolis appears in the local Towson paper *The Jeffersonian*, January 31, March 14, April 4, 1947.

54. *Sun*, October 20, November 4, 6, 10, 1948; *The Jeffersonian*, October 29, November 5, 12, 1948; *Maryland Manual*, (Annapolis, 1949), 266.
55. *The Jeffersonian*, October 5, 1947; John P. Wheeler and Melissa Kinsey, *Magnificent Failure: The Maryland Constitutional Convention of 1967-1968* (New York, 1970), 2-3, 23, 108-109, 204-207, 229. A proposal to form a state commission to simply study ways in which the city and county might cooperate was not even given serious consideration by the legislature. See Senate of Maryland, *Senate Resolution No. 73* (March 3, 1975); *Sun*, March 9, 1975. The current Baltimore County Executive was widely criticized by county residents and political leaders for even discussing with Mayor of Baltimore City the possibility of joint purchase of equipment and other minor areas of cooperation. County residents appear to fear that even the most trivial connections with the city will become an opening wedge for metropolitan government. See the *Sun*, July 22, 1975.

Elections in Proprietary Maryland

ROBERT J. DINKIN

POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN AND ENTHUSIASM FOR ELECTIONS IN EIGHTeenth-century America varied from colony to colony. In some of the New England provinces and in the lower South few settlers gave any thought to who was running for office much less to taking part in the proceedings themselves. Yet in certain places many people considered elections as major events. Such was the case in proprietary Maryland, a hotbed of political controversy. In fact, during the half-century before the American Revolution Maryland witnessed numerous contests which were among the most heated anywhere in the thirteen colonies.

By the beginning of that period, two fairly cohesive factions had emerged in the province, which made for vigorous competition and excitement at the polls. These factions were known as the court party and the country party, designations stemming from the long standing political divisions in England where the court supported and the country opposed the influence of the Crown. In Maryland, the court faction was sympathetic to the proprietary government of Lord Baltimore and the Calvert family and was comprised chiefly of the proprietary officials, along with their relatives and friends. Their opponents, the country faction, consisted of those individuals who challenged what they regarded as the high-handed and arbitrary rule of the Calverts.[1] Although the two groups were not as well-organized as modern political parties they always exhibited a great deal of enthusiasm when it came to elections. Through these encounters each side hoped to increase its power by controlling the only elective branch of the government, the lower house. Generally, the court group found it impossible to elect more than ten to twenty delegates, which was never more than 40 per cent of the whole.[2] Yet, despite this inability to obtain a majority, this party always managed to exert a great deal of pressure and make things difficult for the country group at the polls.

Socially and economically, the composition of the two factions was basically similar. Both of them consisted primarily of wealthy landholders, with a sprinkling of merchants and lawyers.[3] As the placeman, William Eddis, remarked about the Assembly in 1772: "The delegates returned are generally persons of the greatest consequence in their different counties."[4] Notwithstanding these similarities in background, men on both sides usually campaigned on the basis of issues rather than personalities. Such matters as the regulation of proprietary fees, tobacco inspection laws, and the rights of Catholics were very important both to the candidates and to the voters. The great landholders in Maryland could not expect automatic reelection merely because of their wealth and position,

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as was the case in certain other colonies. Regardless of an individual's high rank in society, if he refused to take a popular stand on an important question he would invariably be rejected at the polls. For example, in 1755, the noted lawyer, Daniel Dulany, Jr., voted against a bill calling for the confiscation of lands held by the Catholic clergy. When his position became known, anti-Catholic sentiment among Dulany's constituents in Frederick County reached such proportions that he could not even commit himself as a candidate in the next election.[5] In that very year, Philip Key, another prominent gentleman, lost his seat for the same reason as he too "was not sanguine enough against the Roman Catholics in some of the late sessions."[6]

Governor Horatio Sharpe, who served as chief executive of the province for almost twenty years (1753–1771), often complained that he was never able to obtain any degree of cooperation from the legislators shortly before an Assembly was to be dissolved. "They always shew greater Backwardness in every last session to do anything generous," he said, "lest it should induce their Electors to reject them when they offer themselves Candidates at the ensuing Election."[7] Because the wealthy landholders themselves had to engage in active campaigning to retain their places, both parties at times had difficulties in finding proper candidates. As Governor Sharpe observed, "few Gentlemen will submit so frequently to the inconveniences that such a canvass for Seats in that House must necessarily subject themselves to. . . . "[8] If politics in provincial Maryland were pursued primarily by the rich and well-born, the common people often had the last word at the polls.

Elections to the Assembly, known in Maryland as the House of Delegates, occurred every three years or earlier, if the governor dissolved the body prior to that time. Shortly after a dissolution, the governor would issue a writ calling for new elections. The voters were required to select four persons from each county, plus two from the city of Annapolis. With the expansion of the province, this meant a contest for fifty seats or more by the middle of the eighteenth century.[9]

In years when particularly heated contests were expected, the campaigns began many weeks in advance of the actual election—sometimes as soon as the previous assembly was dissolved. Although there were no general party caucuses or conventions to make nominations or plan strategies at this early date, leaders of both sides attempted to use their influence in neighboring counties to promote the candidacies of those who were sympathetic to their position. Stephen Bordley of Anne Arundel County, for example, one of the leaders of the country party, often summoned various members of his family to work actively for certain individuals.[10] In 1745 Bordley wrote to his brother Thomas, in Kent County, to aid in the campaign of Matthias Harris, a country party stalwart.

> I am informed you have always a large share in the Elections for your County, and as particularly at this time, while the Court party are making so violent a push every where to Carry the Elections agreeable to themselves. . . . I wish you would make use of your best Interest to get Mat Harris into the House. . . . I am thoroughly satisfied of his hearty disposition to Serve the Country to the utmost of his power, and of his ability to do more to that end, then any man from your County. . . . [11]

To his brother, John Bordley of Kent, he repeated his plea for Harris's cause,

and also urged him to thwart the designs of court candidates in his vicinity, James Calder, John Gresham, and Thomas Colville.

> I must now beg that you will not only give him your own but likewise promise him all the Interest in your power, & particularly recommend him to T.B.'s Interest. . . . And for Godsake and that of your Country endeavor by all means not only to keep out J.C. for your county but likewise J.G.—and if possible T.C. for Cecil. . . . [12]

The proprietary governor sometimes used patronage to influence certain gentlemen or their kin to stand for election to the lower house. In 1749 Governor Samuel Ogle, who had already given several posts to Daniel Dulany, Sr., wished that the latter would have his two sons seek office. As Ogle told Lord Baltimore, "I gave him to understand . . . that those I gave the most considerable places to, should do your lordship proportional service."[13]

In addition to engaging influential persons to use their "interest" to further their particular party's cause, the leaders of both sides and the candidates themselves sometimes sought to win over the voters by offering "treats and entertainments." In proprietary Maryland, as in most other colonies, aspirants for public office were known to provide food and drink for the electors either shortly before or after the balloting had taken place. Generally, wine punch and cookies were standard offerings, although a really extravagant gentleman might also set our various kinds of barbecued meat. This custom was frequently called "swilling the planters with bumbo."[14]

"Treating" in this manner was not usually intended as an overt bribe, but merely as a token of the candidate's gratitude to the voters for having taken the time to travel all the way to the polls. To be sure, there were abuses of this practice, and when the court party in the late 1740's began to chip away at the country-majority in the House, the latter group felt that the changes were largely the result of excessive treating. Therefore, in 1749, following a flagrant use of bribery preceding the election of four court candidates in St. Mary's County, the country leaders determined to call a halt to this practice. Shortly afterward, the country-dominated Committee of Privileges and Elections reported that it had been common of late

> to give uncommon Entertainments, and great Quantities of strong and spirituous Liquors, to the Electors of such counties thereby engaging the Promises of the weaker Sort of the said Electors to vote for them at such Elections. . . . This practice, if not prevented for the future, your Committee humbly conceive, must tend to the destruction of the Health, Strength, Peace and Quiet, and highly contribute to the Corruption of the Morals of his majesty's Loyal Subjects. . . . [15]

Although the proprietor, Lord Baltimore, rejected a subsequent act making treating illegal,[16] the lower house continued to void elections where liquor was used to interrupt the proceedings. Finally, after several years filled with frequent violations, the Assembly decided to punish all treaters who were openly seeking votes. In June, 1768, following an obvious incident of this kind in Baltimore County, the House unanimously resolved:

> that on any petition for treating, this house will not take into consideration, or

> regard the greatness or smallness of any treat, but will, in all cases, in which any person or persons ... directly or indirectly give, present, or allow to any person having a voice or vote in such election, any money, meat, drink, entertainment, or provision, or make any present, gift, reward, or entertainment, or any promise, agreement, obligation, or engagement, to give or allow any money, meat, drink, provision, present, reward, or entertainment, whatsoever, in order to be elected, or for being elected, will declare the election of such person void.[17]

When a new election was held in Baltimore the next month, the *Maryland Gazette* reported: "We are informed the . . . Gentlemen carefully avoided Treating both before and after the Election to prevent the least colour for a second complaint on that account."[18]

During an election in the subsequent year, two of the men chosen from Charles County, Captain Francis Ware and Josias Hawkins, were brought before the House and charged with treating. After a hearing at which several witnesses testified, the Speaker declared that "their attendance was no longer required."[19] Notwithstanding these actions on the part of the legislature, it is doubtful that the practice of treating completely disappeared until long after the revolutionary period.

In addition to treating, both groups engaged in other forms of electioneering. In Annapolis, for example, public speeches were frequently delivered and parades held in behalf of those seeking Assembly seats. Prior to the election of 1764, in which Samuel Chase, the famous revolutionary leader, made his first entry into politics, the artist, Charles Willson Peale, noted that "banners were displayed to designate the freedom of tradesmen, and parades of this nature were made through all the streets with the friends of Chase at the head of them."[20] Some years later, a nonpartisan observer condemned such practices:

> When I perceive such uncommon arts practiced by public meetings, parading with drums, and publick orations to rouse your passions, and influence judgements against one of the candidates for the approaching election, I cannot but believe these people are influenced more by the spirit of party, than a desire of promoting the publick peace, welfare, and happiness.[21]

Yet these activities continued and, as time passed, spread to more and more areas.

While the press played a large role in election campaigns in northern cities, newspapers and pamphlets were less significant in proprietary Maryland. The wide scattering of most of the population on small farms and plantations, made such mediums less effective. To be sure, many articles and letters on political issues were published in the *Maryland Gazette,* the colony's principal newspaper. Yet seldom did these appear prior to the time of voting. In the few instances when the public prints were utilized before an election, the statements were of a nonpartisan nature, reminding electors of their precious political privileges, and urging them to cast their votes wisely. Perhaps the best example of this mode of writing appeared in the *Gazette* shortly before the election of 1751. "LIBERTY," the author exclaimed,

> is the undeniable Birthright of every Freeborn Subject of the British Dominions, yet such is the depraved Condition of Mankind in this our degenerate Age, that

> the Sound of Liberty, is made use of by artful and designing Men, to amuse and abuse that part of Mankind, who from their private Stations in Life, are Little conversant with public Affairs; and are therefore subject to be led away by their clamourous Insinuations. As the great Bulwark of British Liberty consists in the free Choice of proper Persons to act in a Legislative Capacity, whose peculiar Business it is to make good and wholesome laws, for the general Welfare of those they Represent, the importance of choosing such Men who are most likely to discharge so great a Trust, must be apparent to everyone who will give themselves Time to reflect thereon.[22]

Voting occurred at one or two locations in each county, the county court house being the most common site. The polls were open for at least two days on most occasions, and sometimes longer when it was believed that the majority of freeholders had not yet made their appearance. In Anne Arundel County, during the election of 1764, inclement weather forced officials to keep the polls open for three days; heated contests in Baltimore, Dorchester, and Frederick were known to continue for four or five days.[23]

The exact size of the electorate and the number who actually voted in eighteenth century Maryland are difficult to determine because such data is scarce. A recent study of the suffrange in four counties has concluded that no more than 60 to 67 per cent of the adult male population was able to meet the property and religious requirements for voting.[24] If these percentages are correct for the province as a whole, the turnouts at the few elections for which results are available would indicate that the vast majority of the eligible voters often came to the polls when a crucial issue was at stake. In Baltimore County, 992 voters, or approximately 50 per cent of adult males participated in an election in March, 1752,[25] while a few months earlier, in December, 1751, 660 men, or 57 per cent, voted in Anne Arundel County.[26] At an election held in the city of Annapolis in 1764, some 135 voters turned out, again more than 50 per cent of the electors.[27]

At the polling places the candidates were usually present and would greet the electors as they came forward to deliver their votes. Candidates sat within hearing distance as each man stepped up and gave his vote orally.[28] This *viva voce* method meant that the voters could be subjected to severe pressure. The gentlemen running for office were in many cases the same persons who had done favors for them—lent them money, rented them land, or provided any number of other services—and were sometimes looking for recompense. Yet at no time during this period did anyone attempt to introduce the secret ballot, or make any other modifications in this electoral procedure. Thus, we must assume that most voters were satisfied with the system, or felt that to amend it would not be worth their inconvenience.

When the voter came forward to announce his choice, he approached a long table where one of the clerks recorded his vote as the sheriff looked on. The sheriff of each county was responsible for administering the proceedings from the original notification to qualified voters about the impending election, to the delivery of the final results to the Assembly. His duties included opening and closing the polls and making sure that only qualified persons had registered any votes. In theory, the colonial sheriff could exercise a great deal of influence over the outcome by using his powers in the interests of the candidates whom he

favored. He could, for example, disqualify certain individuals from voting, or shut down the polls early when his side was just barely ahead.[29] However, in Maryland, an obvious display of partiality, especially in behalf of the court party, was swiftly condemned by the House of Delegates

In 1745, Robert Chesley, sheriff of St. Mary's County, had broken a tie by giving his vote to the court party candidate, but the House disallowed his action by ruling that a sheriff had no right to cast a ballot in an election where he sat as judge.[30] After another contest four years later, Chesley was severely reprimanded by the Committee of the Whole on several counts. First of all, he was charged with not giving the freeholders notice of the hours that the polls would be open. Then he was condemned for behaving with "great Partiality, by endeavoring to deter and hinder by Threats and Menaces, some of the Freeholders and other Voters of the said County from their Freedom of Voting," and also for "offering a Reward" to one person and "terrifying" others to vote for the candidates that he was supporting.[31]

These instances where the sheriff was guilty of various types of misconduct comprised only a small fraction of the total number of disputed elections which had to be settled by the Assembly. Between 1728 and 1771, at least twenty-nine petitions from nine different counties alleging fraudulent activities were presented.[32] Most of the petitions protested against excessive treating, the use of non-qualified voters, or the participation of ineligible candidates. For example, in the contested election in Kent County in 1728 between Ebenezer Blackstone and John Johnson, Johnson had originally received a majority by three votes, but afterward it was found that two individuals who voted for him were not qualified and another had voted for Johnson after previously voting for Blackstone. The Assembly ruled that this "ought not to be Allowed" and Blackstone was declared the official winner.[33]

The bitterest struggles between the court and country parties took place in the capital city of Annapolis. No less than seven provincial elections held there between 1728 and 1764 ended in disputes which had to be settled by the Assembly.[34] Perhaps the large concentration of people (Annapolis had a population of more than 1,000 in 1760) and its position as the center of government in the colony made it a more natural place to mount a political campaign than elsewhere in the province. Also, both groups had strong followings in the capital: the court, a retinue of proprietary officials; the country, a large number of artisans and tradesmen. The factional fight in the town extended even to the choice of local officials. In 1743, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, the Scottish-born physician and author of the *Itinerarium,* was requested by many of the citizens to stand "in opposition to a certain creature of the court." But on election day, "there arose such tumults at giving of the votes in the Mayors Court, that the majority of the Aldermen left the Bench in a passion, Leaving none behind, but the Mayor and one Single alderman, and eight Common Council, which did not make a Lawful Court. In the afternoon the tumult was so high that the partizans went to Cudgelling and breaking of heads. So the poles were shut long before they were finished or determined, being sealed with the double Seal of the Mayor and Recorder. . . ."[35]

Heated contests often occurred in other places as well as Annapolis. Baltimore,

Calvert, Cecil, Dorchester, Frederick, Kent, and St. Mary's Counties also had their share of chaotic struggles. In Baltimore, especially, passions generally reached fever pitch on election day, with fisticuffs quite commonplace. While the voting was taking place in December, 1751, the sheriff, "finding the People very ostreperous and violent, was obliged several Times to adjourn the Poll . . . and then shut the Court House Doors. . . . "[36] This contest was later nullified when the losing candidates demonstrated that the polls had been closed after the first day, before all the freeholders had an opportunity to vote. At the restaging of this election the following March, "there were as many People as ever appeared at any one Election in this Province," and even more violence. The original winners triumphed once more but not before two men were critically injured in a brawl, and later died of their wounds.[37]

A somewhat less tragic and more humerous ending to a fight at an election occurred in Calvert County in December, 1754. Two of the participants had begun battling, and during the engagement, one of them "bit Part of the other's Nose off." Subsequent inquiries disclosed that this same person had once "bit off a Man's Ear; and at another Time almost bit off a Man's Finger." This prompted the printer of the *Maryland Gazette* to ask, "Whether this Fellow ought not to have all his teeth drawn?"[38]

The struggle at the polls between the court and country parties continued unabated down through the late 1760's. However, by 1773 heated election contests had begun to subside.[39] The court group was becoming almost completely discredited because of its identification with recently enacted British policies which threatened the people's liberties. In that year, the last election under the proprietor, most country candidates ran for office with no opposition. But in the town of Annapolis, the court faction made one last attempt to retain a foothold in the lower house. Anthony Stewart, a man of high character but with strong "court connexions," was put up against the popular Matthias Hammond and William Paca. Stewart started off with enthusiasm yet on election day so many voters committed to Hammond and Paca had gathered even before the polls opened, that he "thought it prudent to decline."[40]

Following the victory of Hammond and Paca, many of the townspeople joined a procession to the gallows where a mock-funeral was held, in order to bury the Governor's "Proclamation" regarding one of the major issues of the election, the right to regulate proprietary fees. On the outside of the coffin, the inscription read in part: "It is wished . . . that the court party, convinced by experience of the impotancy of their interest, may never hereafter disturb the peace of the city by their vain and feeble exertions to bear down the free and Independent citizens."[41] Perhaps this burial of both petition and court party was a fitting conclusion to elections in proprietary Maryland.

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32. See *ibid.*, 36: 198, 207–08, 214–15; 39: 228, 235; 44: 74–75, 113; 46: 182, 241–42, 263–64, 429–30, 653, 655, 660; 50: xii; 55: xxxiii–xxxv; 56: 163, 165; 58: xvi; 59: lxiii–lxv; 61: 378–79; 62: 56; 63: xv–xvii.
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The Vision of Scholarship: Johns Hopkins After the War

J. B. DONNELLY

ONE

A POET WHO SURVIVED THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR WAS CURSED WITH TERRIBLE foresights of the Second World War. A year before Hiroshima, Pedro Salinas imagined an air raid of singular destructiveness:

> The zero drops on them. Now
> I do not see them, the many
> beautiful works of man have vanished
> into that heart-rending unity
> which jumbles them into nothingness
> in that confusion of debris.[1]

Salinas, professor at the University of Seville, escaped Franco with his family; his great friend, the poet Federico Garcia Lorca, did not. Jaime Salinas, a Hopkins student after the War, would recall the martyr's kindness to children.[2] Jaime's father, Professor of Spanish Literature at Johns Hopkins from 1945 until his death in December 1951, devoted himself to the memory of Garcia Lorca and performances of his plays.[3]

From V-J Day until the outbreak of the Korean War, schools such as Hopkins were refilled on both sides of the lectern by survivors of the calamities of the Twentieth Century—the great wars and economic upheavals, the totalitarian takeovers and death camps. "A vast yesterday is without a present,/ life sacrificed in what seems to be stone," Salinas had written in "Zero," his premonitory poem of 1944. "That which was supreme is dust in an instant./ What waste of centuries in a moment!" In the peace and safety which finally appeared to have come, Salinas was not left alone to mourn. During the postwar Forties, Hopkins was one of many centers of the West's attempt to reconstruct the civilization which had been in disarray since 1914.

Always the smallest of the world's major academies, Hopkins attracted professors and students who were dedicated to revitalizing the classic arts and sciences rather than to educating on the larger scale. With that defiant hopefulness survivors were entitled to, they persevered despite the disillusioning onset of the Cold War and the Nixon-McCarthy era. Then, the 1949-1950 recession and the outbreak of the Korean Conflict sent many GI Bill students and younger faculty into an already growing military-industrial-academic complex. A quarter of a

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century later, academe showed little trace of the idealism of 1945. But the national plight of the humanities in the Seventies was alleviated by one earlier achievement: the unique postwar combination of refugee professors and equally inspired Americans had succeeded in conveying to the next generation of teachers the heritage of learning and the example of their own lives. Leo Spitzer, the émigré philologist, called this gift—which had sustained humanists through many hard years—the "vision of scholarship."[4]

Baltimore in 1945 was deliberately provincial, but not as barren as were many of the places where refugee scholars found homes. Yet, as Salinas, his overcoat worn like a cape, slowly paced about the Hopkins campus, the rather tall, gaunt and dark-complected poet would gaze past strangers with the faraway look of the exile. Other émigré scholars acted the same in Cambridge, New Haven, and even in New York. A university was to them an island; outside, certainly in Baltimore, was an expanse in which Franklin Roosevelt's Four Freedoms were still not for everyone.[5]

Whites had not yet begun the flight to the suburbs, so for a time strollers and chauffeured limousines resumed their prewar stops at Miller Brothers' glittering turn-of-the-century raw bar, Hopper McGaw's fancy grocery with a wooden Indian at the door, and other doomed points on the in-city rounds of the well-to-do. Fanning out from downtown were bristling ethnic enclaves of old-country Italians, "Bohemians" (Central Europeans), and other immigrant groups. Of the less voluntary associations, "hillbillies" and blacks were kept mostly out of sight of the rest of Baltimore until the defense plants boomed again after 1950.[6]

Baltimore also segregated Jews. According to income, they lived in three sections, including a "golden ghetto," complete with nationally respected synagogues and private schools. No matter what their accomplishments and community service, however, Jews were still met in the postwar Forties by "Gentiles Only" rules, except at Hopkins and few other places.[7]

Baltimore's social and economic contrasts could be observed around the University's two campuses. When the Medical School and Hospital complex had been constructed at the turn of the century on Broadway in East Baltimore, the boulevard had provided elegant patients with a tree-lined approach to the new center of American medicine. By war's end, the trees were going, facilities were running down, and the thrust of poor whites and blacks into the neighborhood where the Duchess of Windsor had grown up was beginning to turn the Emergency Room into one of the city's busiest. But with the members of the early classes of doctors and nurses still very much alive and working, the twin traditions of research and charity proved strong enough. The school which provided a majority of the founding delegates of the World Health Organization in 1946 also successfully planned in the late Forties to modernize and expand in time to meet the medical crises and opportunities of the next decades.[8]

The rest of the University was located some miles to the northwest of the hospital, in what the catalogue described as a "good residential district."[9] Though not founded until 1876, Woodrow Wilson's original school, an almost random collection of halls and houses in a congested part of downtown, had been abandoned beginning in 1915. The new campus was a 140-acre estate, Homewood,

centered about the Georgian mansion built by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Homewood House, the University's administrative headquarters, was the model for all campus halls, including war-delayed building programs which would nearly cover the campus during the next decades.[10]

Emergency construction after Pearl Harbor—such as a wind tunnel for aerodynamic research and a heavily guarded brick tower for part of the atomic bomb project—foreshadowed Hopkins' heavy postwar investment in scientific research.[11] Ultimately, the so-called knowledge explosion would force the central book collection out of Gilman Hall and into the graceful Milton S. Eisenhower Library. But during the postwar Forties, the humanities—students, teachers, and research resources—were still housed with room to spare in Gilman, Homewood's original academic building. This academe still had groves, with near-tame squirrels, shady trees, shadowed porches, and thick green grass. Students could spill out of the stacks to talk or read with very little automotive competition. Homewood's parking spaces had not yet become parking lots.

Proximity to the WASP enclaves of Baltimore made Homewood Field, on the northern end of the campus, a perfect setting for the postwar resumption of Hopkins' traditional mastery of lacrosse. In the last prewar game, played in June 1941 for the British War Relief Society, Hopkins beat Mount Washington, the postgraduate club, to take the championship. The last-minute victory, 7–6, became legendary; two of that game's stars, Jack Turnbull and George Penniman, were killed in the War. In the spring of 1947, all but the fallen players were able to face off, in a varsity versus alumni contest which became virtually a memorial ceremony.

There was evident that day a grand continuity to a game in which somehow aesthetic pleasure could be derived from the players' patterns, even when they flailed like medieval pikemen around the goal. The game was slow (the undergraduates, on their way to four straight collegiate championships, won 3–1), but the emotions were high. Trophies in the names of Turnbull and Penniman were unveiled by other members of these renowned lacrosse families; flags commemorating Hopkins players lost in the two World Wars were fastened to the goal nets.[12] It was the kind of brilliant spring afternoon often enjoyed at Homewood. In the stands were alumni of the game; older sons played; younger sons acted as waterboys or chased balls behind the nets. The field, mowed before each game, looked as sedate as an English lawn. The green background set off the colors of the uniforms and of the spring frocks of the dates and mothers in the stands. The girls were dressed for the postgame parties; many mothers were prepared with gloves and hats for cocktails, dinner, and a garden stroll to feed the goldfish, at the nearby Johns Hopkins Club.

Elsewhere on campus, leading students of all social backgrounds militated against the collegiate sentimentality which they believed had gone out with the Twenties. J. Paxton Davis, editor of the 1949 yearbook, said the veterans had "grown old during the Thirties." Pragmatic veterans, Sidney Offit wrote in the student newspaper, were unmoved by founder Daniel Coit Gilman's often-quoted praise of the "golden period" of college years. Just before the last pre-Korean

War graduation, Ben Herman summed up the views of his classmates of '50: they were "too busy" to reflect on their four years; " . . . there are no watery eyes when they reminisce; that may come later," he wrote.[13]

A major reason that Hopkins resisted any yearning for a quaint past was to be found in the stern character of Isaiah Bowman, the University's fifth president. His administration bridged the period of crises from 1945 to 1948, which were not golden years for watery-eyed recollections.

Living opposite Hopkins briefly in prewar, still-Southern Baltimore, Scott Fitzgerald might say, "I belong here, where everything is civilized and gay and rotted and polite."[14] But New Englander Isaiah Bowman, who probably deserved *Life's* accolade in 1945 as the world's foremost political geographer,[15] came from the workhorse branch of the genteel tradition. Woodrow Wilson's youthful leader of American advisors at the Peace Conference in 1919, Bowman saw little of refined Paris, even during his wife's brief visit. The American taxpayer, Bowman wrote home, was getting his money's worth from the overworked academic experts.[16] Later, while president of Hopkins, Bowman continued to dwell on these themes of heroic scholarship and public accountability. He repeatedly urged "industrial statesmen" to benefit society by contributing to his selfless scholars, who were, he said, turning away industry's offers of many times their salaries.[17]

Bowman went to San Francisco in 1945 as a special advisor to the Secretary of State at the founding conference of the United Nations. When the Soviets stalled, Bowman had to take sleeping pills to calm his anxieties. Whenever he glanced through the windows during a conference, Bowman imagined he saw crowds of war dead silently watching. The president brought this sense of almost fatalistic urgency back to the campus. Time after time he warned the faculty and students that they had to work hard to protect the peace, that they might have to fight another world war. The next enemy would be the Communists, he said, even during the most hopeful phase of the postwar period, before his retirement in 1948. His death in January 1950 spared him the news of Korea.[18]

Like some other gentile leaders of the Baltimore of his time, Bowman has been remembered as prejudiced against Jews. Before hiring a future Nobel laureate, Bowman asked if the émigré were, "you know, a Jewy Jew." But his correspondence reveals many warm social as well as professional friendships with prominent Jews in Baltimore and elsewhere. And, of a list of 300 leading European refugees of the Thirties, no fewer than twenty, mostly Jewish, found at least a temporary home at Hopkins. Further, as Bowman tersely informed a Jewish philanthropist, Hopkins had no "quota" for Jewish students and had never had one.[19]

The first black undergraduates entered Hopkins at the end of the War, well in advance of other universities below the Mason-Dixon Line. Black graduate students had been enrolled, however quietly, even earlier. Furthermore, Hopkins appointed the first black faculty member in 1948.[20]

Bowman resisted the many postwar opportunities to expand. Instead he defended Hopkins' small size. In proportion to the faculty, students, endowment, and plant of the other major American schools, Bowman proudly asserted, Hopkins had contributed the most to scientific research in World War II. Secretary of War Henry Stimson, General Leslie Groves, head of the Manhattan

Project, and other officials in fact did applaud Hopkins for more than 100 wartime projects, including perfection of the proximity fuse and part of the atomic bomb. Even the student publications which sometimes criticized Bowman's talk of war praised Hopkins' continuing record of defense-related research. Along with his warnings about Soviet totalitarianism, however, Bowman also called for higher professorial salaries as well as for buildings, for support of the humanities as well as for science, and for funding the lonely genius as well as the newly fashionable interdisciplinary team.[21]

In annual addresses to entering students, Bowman also mixed messages of idealism with hardhearted practical admonitions. "The Social Contract of an Educated Man" was the Wilsonian title of his 1946 message. Only one of ten applicants had been admitted; one of three, he correctly predicted, would not graduate. Survivors, he implied strongly, could expect to prosper. The students nonetheless should regard their years at Hopkins as a privilege; they should be able to live with their consciences only if they later worked for the "security of all" in society.

He said flatly, "we go in for hard intellectual work" at Hopkins. Part of this policy was character-building of the old-school kind. But to spend even a few moments with Bowman was to understand that when he said "work," he meant just that, without any Ivy varnish. In his last message to an entering class, in the fall of 1948, Bowman said he did not look upon Hopkins "romantically," but only as a place for education "without fooling."[22]

While the entering class of 1946 contained an almost even mixture of teenagers and veterans, ranging from 16 to 42, the highest number of veterans (70 percent of more than 1700 undergraduates) was reached in 1948–1949, the academic year in which Bowman retired. Some ex-GIs who came to Hopkins in the postwar Forties may have needed Bowman's toughening-up process almost as much as any conventional freshman did. Some veterans who manifestly did not need character-building of this kind were willing conformists. After all, in 1947 Bell Telephone was advertising that Walter Gifford, a Hopkins trustee, had risen in the firm from clerk to president.[23]

Non-veterans, with their gray flannels and saddle shoes, appeared out of place among the ETO jackets and worn khakis. But many of them grew up fast enough to be influenced by a group of veterans who taught their young classmates almost as much as the professors did. These genuine leaders did not all succeed scholastically; in fact, Arts and Sciences, which led the Class of 1950, averaged little better than a C. Part of the reason for the comparatively undistinguished record was rough grading. The competition could have become bitter; the Class of 1950 did produce nearly 100 physicians and scores in other professions.[24] But these students had to be self-motivated, for there were no deans' lists and no published class ranks.

The Hopkins catalogues of the time contained another reason for some professors' complaints about lack of academic readiness. The University explicitly promised consideration of veterans' applications "which may deviate from the conventional due to the demands and interruptions imposed by the war." Here was the admissions policy which attracted a group of intellectually hungry, if

unevenly trained, veterans. The humanists among them mainly entered the Arts and Sciences College, which never numbered more than about 700 undergraduates in any year of the postwar Forties.[25]

One was William Romeike. Too young at 16, he flunked out of Hopkins before the War, joined the Army and returned on the GI Bill to be considered with William Wishmeyer, another self-taught Army veteran, as among the school's most brilliant students. Along the way Romeike had married Margaret, a luxuriantly tressed Julliard piano teacher and atonal composer. She was the kind of "comrade wife" D. C. Babcock described in a *New Yorker* poem about a postwar campus.[26] Though she taught at Baltimore's Peabody Conservatory, composed, performed, and cared for her intensely busy husband and happily boisterous children, Margaret Romeike somehow found the energy to cope with a stream of enthusiastic guests.

In spare graduate student surroundings, younger students were introduced to good, inexpensive wines, extraordinary cats, Pablo Casal's 1927 recordings of Bach, and, even more reverently, the Beethoven interpretations of Artur Schnabel. Romeike went to Hopkins' graduate school but finally left it for quasi-cultural jobs in industry and government. Until he died some twenty years later, though, Bill Romeike continued to guide young friends as if he were, one said, a "personage out of the Old Testament."[27]

Stimulated by a score of veterans such as Romeike and Wishmeyer, postwar cultural discoveries found their way quickly to student cafeteria tables and from there into campus literary columns. Louis Rubin was excited by a host of Southerners who appeared about to dominate the postwar literary scene, while Bob Flottemesch wrote an affectionate farewell to Gertrude Stein. Some veterans perceptively admired *Mister Roberts*, while virtually all ex-GIs were going to be disappointed by Ernest Hemingway's long-awaited World War II novel. Hopkins men also had favorites from the past: Pax Davis and Philip Moon championed F. Scott Fitzgerald; Salinas, father and son, Federico Garcia Lorca.[28]

An attempt in the student-run magazine, *Lit*, to encourage war reminiscences was quickly dropped. But the war poetry of Eugene Blank, which almost alone had strength as well as feeling, in a way provided a clue to his future. After a year out of school, this Phi Beta Kappa in Political Economy threw over a choice job with a Madison Avenue advertising agency and came back to Hopkins to go through pre-med courses and the Medical School in a rush.

His last agency chore was to count the number of doctors who smoked his employer's brand of cigarette. Even before leaving for New York, he had been shocked by the crowds of patients depending upon each slum doctor. In "The Guiltless Dead," Blank had written: "To die in vain/ is sacrilege./ Decide our fate, America."

Responding to early Cold War headlines in "Another?," he had written, "Unnumbered agonies, twisted spirits—/ And they can talk of another."[29] Blank brought back from the war a crewcut and a permanent look and tone of sympathy. His worry lines deepened as he interned in an inner-city hospital. He later specialized in radiology at a children's hospital and, later still, became a medical school professor.

Along with a wide range of strong, ex-GI personalities, there were, of course, all kinds of other students. So, while campus editors tried frequently to pin down the "Hopkins type," they generally could agree on one point only: Hopkins was a school for grinding, just as Bowman warned. Some girls came strictly for the parties, but many dates, especially from nearby Goucher College, were forerunners of the Hopkins coeds of the Seventies: daughters of Jewish immigrants, scholarship students in the sciences, aspiring poets and actresses, and the like. A resident Bohemian painted his girls in the nude, a subsequently prominent jazz musician barely escaped a dope raid. But whatever went on at the fraternity houses was not advertised loudly; the vets were generally married or penniless, or both, and nearly everyone looked on the Ivy League as if it were socially in another galaxy.[30]

Campus politics was an under-indulged past-time. Many showed up at class meetings only to vote down the revival of freshman beanies or to try to abolish the senior prom. Late GI Bill subsistence checks always sparked a furor. Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain address at Fulton inspired the student editor to say, "This is the new world; the old one didn't work." Otherwise, perhaps only racial or religious prejudice aroused the serious students. Friends of a veteran with a brave combat record quickly came to his side when an elite graduate school tried to invoke the Jewish "quota."[31] Heartened by his friends, the veteran eventually got in and did even better than the admissions committee had feared.

Almost every verteran had a background—a translator at Nuremberg, a medic who escaped Malmèdy to make Phi Beta Kappa. In other words, men at Hopkins in the postwar Forties were representative of the most worldly wise and motivated generation ever to enter college in this country. But little has been written about those years. Only a few passages of institutional histories—are devoted to the human aspects of postwar recovery.[32] Fleeting references in professorial memoirs are contradictory. Even contemporary novelists failed to provide memorable characterizations of GI scholars. But Hopkins' graduate John Barth did describe the Homewood formula in *A Floating Opera*: hard work and interesting professors.[33]

Not all postwar Hopkins professors were interesting. One droned away while always looking for something he apparently had lost in his notes. Another slowly lectured from memory as if he were dictating a year-long memorandum. Both were veterans, both left. Not all Hopkins professors were happy. For some the school was like other academic scorpion bottles. One very prominent Jewish professor left Hopkins and another almost did because of Bowman's conduct.[34]

Undergraduates generally knew little if anything about these and other academic tragedies. What they did see were professors who often were inspiring if eccentric, and informative if pedantic. Harry Levin, the Harvard critic who visited in 1950, said that the small size and graduate school orientation of Hopkins brought out the personalities of the professors as well as in Europe, perhaps better than anywhere else in America. [35]

Because of the flight from the Holocaust and because the War had delayed many retirements, Hopkins did have a gallery of faculty personalities in the postwar Forties. There was still a chance to see the aged Sanskrit scholar Paul

Dumont wearing the wing collar one local haberdasher still sold. One could still hear the retired Wordsworth authority Raymond Dexter Havens hold forth among his dignified lady admirers as he flourished his black-ribboned pince-nez. These men looked like the savants they were, as did William Foxwell Albright, a smiling, gleaming bald, limping giant, moving to and from the Oriental Seminary in Gilman Hall with a trail behind him of Talmudic scholars, Arabs, nuns, priests, and Protestant ministers.

Albright's lectures to undergraduates on the Pauline Epistles stressed the poetic elements of a subject which easily could have been treated in a pedantic way. Yet, he once saved an archeological expedition by talking to desert thieves in their hitherto unknown language—which he figured out while they terrorized the scholarly band. And while he was telling about the time he confounded two gossipy old maids on a Holy Land cruise by pretending to be drunk, his assistant would tell friends about the day in 1948 when teetotaler Albright opened a package of reproductions of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In less than five minutes he authenticated and dated the Scrolls almost as precisely as the carbon-dating process later did.[36]

Another esteemed scholar who looked the part but wore his honors lightly was Sidney Painter. Though his classic works on French and English chivalry were used widely, students were not fully aware of how pre-eminent a medievalist he was. For at the least excuse he would parody his own interest in the chivalric past. "Gentlemen, I would have made a wonderful baron!" Painter exclaimed one day, gesturing with a pointer which was serving as a sword.

Well over six feet tall even when characteristically slouching, he wore a drooping moustache which went with his baggy tweeds. A prewar Yalie through and through, he hailed Bowman's reintroduction of the student honor code: "We were becoming too completely interested in intellectual development and were paying far too little attention to the development of the character of . . . the future leaders of our country at a very vital period of their lives," he wrote.[37]

Like civilian Painter, many professors returned from the War burning with pent-up productivity. Frederick Lane, the ranking authority on Venice, economist Clarence Long, who was still in uniform when Bowman hired him, the Southern historian Vann Woodward, returning Classics chairman, Colonel Henry Rowell: all combined last military assignments with their first postwar research projects. They were taking part in what the new president of Illinois in 1947 called the race between "education and disaster." They were trying to conquer what Karl Shapiro ambiguously described as the "Nightfall of nations brilliant after war."[38]

Shapiro himself was one of the most distinguished of the returned, a darkly handsome soldier poet who won the Pulitzer Prize in 1945. A Hopkins graduate who briefly became an Associate Professor in the new Writing Seminars, Shapiro forecast in "Elegy for a Dead Soldier" an attitude soon called "tough-minded idealism" by James Bryant Conant, of Harvard:[39]

His children would have known a heritage,
Just or unjust, the richest in the world,
The quantum of all art and science curled
In the horn of plenty, bursting from the horn,

A people bathed in honey, Paris come,
Vienna transferred with the highest wage,
Kingdom of man—who knows? Hollow or firm,
No man can ever prophesy until
Out of our death some undiscovered germ,
Whole toleration of pure peace is born.[40]

In this and in a 1945 poem on Faust and the atomic bomb, Shapiro caught the mixture of fear and tentative hopefulness, mass mobilization of knowledge and swirling intellectual vibrancy, which would at least briefly define the postwar campus.

Early postwar set-pieces in *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, published by Hopkins' Department of Philosophy had exhorted intellectuals to return to their labors for a salvageable civilization. In 1945, Jacques Barzun wanted historians "to help blaze a path through the darkness ahead." As late as January 1948, the refugee scholar Hajo Holborn declared that the study of history "opens the road to participation in the fulness of human civilization." The liberal editor, Max Lerner, in a 1945 essay in *The American Scholar*, had predicted that poets ultimately would turn the "nightmare symbols" of Belsen into "symbols of the human heart that has triumphed over its always potential evil." As early as 1947, however, Lerner could only appeal for a belief in "tragic humanism."[41]

At Hopkins, luckily, émigré scholars were able to achieve the kind of intellectual balance Lerner called for in 1947 through an intensity of effort the editor had sought in his 1945 essay. One of the earliest refugees, Ernst Feise, who wisely came to stay in 1930, wanted Americans to emulate Faust, to "re-live the ages which produced the ideal that has remained the symbol of highest beauty in the soul of humanity to our day. . . ."[42]

As Feise represented the grand tradition of Goethe's Germany, his colleague Arno C. Schirokauer provided a link with another extraordinary cultural period, the Weimar decade. Half-blinded in aerial combat during the Great War, he was a near double for Erich von Stroheim in *The Grand Illusion*. But as soon as Weimar was mentioned, Schirokauer became animated and warm. A Munich radio commentator before 1933, he had met everybody; he analyzed dour Bertolt Brecht at length; pianist Artur Schnabel he praised for his humanity as well as for his supreme artistry. He had seen the teen-aged Marlene Dietrich in the riotous Berlin premier of Ernst Toller's hyperpolitical *Man and the Masses*.[43]

To hear Schirokauer reminisce about a galaxy of artists and politicians was to sense something of what Weimar Germany meant to the survivors. Schirokauer and such Hopkins visitors as Erwin Panofsky, Edgar Wind, and Karl Löwith: all had forged their lives in a society which briefly held in active solution and in heightened reality virtually all the human possibilities, from the sublime musical conversations of Schnabel's circle to the warped underlife depicted by George Grosz. But always there was the intensified appreciation of beauty set against the somber, contrasting backdrop of the after effects of war.[44]

This was Lerner's "tragic humanism," as it was also lived by Leo Spitzer, Professor of Romance Philology at Hopkins and a viceroy of European Civilization in the United States.

From the time he received his Ph.D. from Vienna in 1910 until his death at 73 in 1960, Leo Spitzer produced in five languages more than 800 scholarly articles. On 2 May 1933, he became one of the very first Jewish professors to be ousted by Hitler. He came to Hopkins in 1936 by way of Istanbul. Aged into the archetype of an exiled prince of the intellect by the end of the war, this caped, passionately smoking and talking eminence moved about the campus in the midst of a perpetual academic procession of admirers. His receded white mane (curled under at the collar and over the ears) and an aquiline nose inspired references to a Lisztian profile.[45]

His Gilman office, crowned with a print of Dürer's *Saint Jerome*, was described by Pedro Salinas as a "Faustian study," Door usually open, there Spitzer would sit lost in thought, surrounded floor to ceiling with haphazard piles of old books he had carried halfway round the world. As late as 1947, the critic René Wellek revealed in an obituary, Spitzer felt he was having no intellectual impact in America.[46] Fortunately, he was joined on the faculty by Anna Granville Hatcher, a specialist in French philology and Spitzer's future literary executrix. In a breathless, tensely lower-pitched voice, this thin, small, frazzled Edith Piaf figure would endlessly engage Spitzer in peripatetic, multilingual conversation. She helped Spitzer transform the rigorous philological inquiry known as *explication de texte* into works of critical art fit to be read along with the sources which inspired them.[47]

In fifty years, he moved from his first love, French literature, to his last, Italian, by way of the Spanish, English, and American classics. Armed with a Miltonic command of secular and religious classics and a "feel of inner evidence," Spitzer would simply stare at a page of Rabelais or Whitman until a hunch would "click" about its "singleness of meaning." Then he would begin to construct his "philological circle" of linguistics and historical interpretation.[48]

The undergraduates who late in the Forties took a special two-year course in the Classics of Western Literature might not have been able to match his "apperception" of poetry, but they soon were infected by his passion to understand.[49] Smoking one French cigarette after another, blowing the smoke directly into the air as if trying to reach the high ceiling, holding each cigarette straight up between his stained fingers in order to get one last puff before being burned, Spitzer sat with a loud tie in a rumpled suit, long legs crossed. With his profile to the class and generally tilted upwards, he lectured as Schnabel played, to a higher audience.

Spitzer would talk of Racine's simple grandeur, the economy of action, the high plateau of tragic vision, the inner springs of inspiration to be searched out in the *Phedre*.[50] Spitzer's passions for Racine, Lope, and Calderón, and for their worlds of ideas and values, were hard to share on first try. But any stage-struck undergraduate could understand the thrill of Spitzer's boyhood discovery of the theater and could empathise as the professor, in solemn, enthralled tones of reverence, imitated Mounet-Sully, whom he had long ago heard declaim Racine in Paris. Spitzer was himself an actor, the creator of a mood in which one eventually could appreciate the iron dictates of honor in the Spanish tragedies, the sport of the gods against man in Racine, and, in both, the triumph of the forms of art.[51]

Very rarely in print or lecture would Spitzer mention the Holocaust. One day, however, he recreated in the mind's eye of the class Sigmund Freud's apartment in Vienna. Spitzer's face moistened and his voice lost its high-pitched vibrancy as he remembered pleading with Freud to come out while there was still time. That was in 1933. Spitzer recalled his arguments: the spread of Fascism and anti-Semitism in Vienna, Hitler's plan to annex Austria, the reign of terror already under way in Germany. Then the professor transformed himself into the hunched, pain-wracked figure of old Freud. "But my library, my library," Spitzer (Freud) whispered, gesturing to shelves of books which the class could almost see.[52]

With his recollections of the past were evocations of his Austrian youth in the beautiful time before the Great War or of his early professorships in recrudescent Weimar. Some of the class' visiting lecturers, such as Karl Löwith, who lectured on Søren Kierkegaard, and Erwin Panofsky, who had helped to create iconology, were part of the Weimar culture Hopkins was being exposed to at tragic remove. The climax of Panofsky's visit was his exegesis of Albrecht Dürer's *Melancolia I.* Crowded in with other professors and students was another Weimar survivor, classicist Ludwig Edelstein, who trembled with concentration as the elfin-like Panofsky lectured rapidly without notes and then, in a duet of erudition, exchanged examples with Spitzer of onamatopoeia in Provençal poetry.[53]

So often earlier embroiled in some intellectual controversy or other,[54] in his last decade Spitzer was widely hailed. Weakening toward the last,[55] Spitzer continued out of love for his adopted country and its educational vitality. He deplored signs of growing academic bureaucratization and the "proliferation of information" rather than of wisdom.[56]

Spitzer also kept going as a religious duty. A member of no congregation, he nonetheless said, "Humanists are theologians!" He called the humanities the "Divinities." In a 1948 meeting, he attacked "half-hearted" teachers as wasting their lives on social life or pedantic and administrative make-work, "instead of being moved by the conviction that the divine may be revealed in their teaching of Plato or Dante. . . ."[57]

In December 1950, Spitzer gave a kind of valedictory to the convention of the Modern Language Association. A passage of recollections in the printed version brought back a memory of Spitzer in class. He would describe the great philologian Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke as mumbling unintelligibly and chalking illegibly during Spitzer's desperate first year at Vienna in a class of 400. Finally, Spitzer would continue, Meyer-Lübke published his dissertation on Rabelais and got his student appointed as a *privatdozent* on the eve of the Great War.

Spitzer would reverently recall the first time he was permitted to enter the Faculty Hall of the University of Vienna, there to be exhorted to the life of scholarship by the more than life-sized statues of Sophocles and Hippocrates. At this point in his own exhortation, Spitzer would gesture in a way which would enable a student, long before he actually visited the Hall, to imagine the dimensions of the chamber and the majesty of the pure marble.[58]

Spitzer had said that Meyer-Lübke did not speak to the students but rather to his peers—

> but in listening to him, we suddenly felt ourselves to be in the same room with all these giants of scholarship. . . . In other words, we were given *the vision* of scholar-

ship: facts can be learned in the rest of our career, but only once in our lives does the opportunity of the vision come, without which one must be a poor scholar indeed.[59]

TWO

The Harvard literary critic Harry Levin thought the migration to America of Spitzer and the other émigrés might have produced as profound a cultural effect as the flight westward after the fall of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century.[60] But by 1948, the idealistic effort to reconstruct Western Civilization was being diverted, the outlook of the students altered.

Liberals had two public events in 1948 to celebrate: the founding of Israel and Harry Truman's victory over Thomas Dewey. Philip Potter, who was wounded on the job, wrote front-line accounts of the First Arab-Israel War for *The Sun*. Liberals should have worried more. But dauntless optimism, which became an Israeli national characteristic, sent a Hopkins man straight off to the new land following his graduation less than a month after the declaration of independence. Karl Shapiro expressed this spirit that year in his poem, "Israel:" "Speak the name only of the living land."[61]

Liberals should have worried less about the Presidential election. A campus poll showed that 70 percent of the students favored Thomas Dewey; only 17 percent were for Truman; 5 percent favored Henry Wallace, and 4 percent each went for the Socialist, Norman Thomas, and the arch-segregationist, Strom Thurman. The overwhelmingly Republican straw vote did not surprise V. O. Key. This Hopkins' political scientist found a conservative student majority to be normal at the university.

Some liberals held one issue above all the rest that year: civil rights. A hotel refused to admit a Negro member of the Rutgers basketball team. The Johns Hopkins Club, controlled by old local alumni, barred the first black faculty member. The student paper protested these and other racist events; but, still in that immeddiate postwar spirit of optimism, the editors counseled patience and working from within to change the system.[62]

Henry Wallace came to speak; the Administration denied auditorium space ordinarily granted more conventional politicians, but allowed him to appear at the edge of the campus. Despite the dramatic circumstances, Wallace did not arouse his audience except when he spoke about racial injustice. Then came the all-night wait in November. Perhaps 100 students were left around a radio in the student center to hear Dewey concede the next morning. Two professors danced down the halls of Gilman to the beat of their chant, "We won! We won!" But the student paper noted that most students were too busy studying to show emotion one way or the other.[63] In any case, the joy was short-lived and almost the last that public affairs would provide in the late Forties.

Baltimore, for example, did not interpret Truman's victory as one for civil rights; Morgan State College and other black institutions would learn otherwise for years to come.[64] The Cold War, moreover, had already begun. Visiting General Carl Spaatz had earlier delivered an expected warning.[65] And one day, in the Library, the Cold War became personal.

The reserve book desk was presided over by the daughter of Henry Carrington

Lancaster, who had sponsored Spitzer at Hopkins and had been decorated by the French government for his studies in French classical literature.[66] Maria Dabney Lancaster was a stately, darkish-blond whose grace and charm often soothed a student who was restricted to an hour or less with an assigned book. She was extraordinarily glum one morning; she had seen *The Sun* headlines about the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia. Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk had been a friend of hers and she could not believe he had willingly jumped from the window in Prague.[67] She held her Lancaster chin high and spoke softly, but in the faraway voice people used in the Second World War when they had just received telegrams from the War Department.

The Sun headlines also blackened when the Russians blockaded Berlin and when Harry Truman resumed the draft. A class in French Literature met minutes after the presidential announcement. The teacher, Leroy Benoit, had parachuted into Occupied France and held many high decorations.[68] He had put war behind him, strolling about campus with his little daughter on his shoulder. That day, however, he and the other veterans in the class told the younger students they were sorry they had not done better.

Arnold Toynbee, in a March 1947 address before a traffic-jammed audience, "Empires and their Illusion of Immortality," had also tempered a mood of end-of-civilization with one last Wilsonian call. He asked, " . . . can we by a new method of co-operative world government in an infinitely hard way open a new chapter of world history?"

The June 1948 Commencement speaker added urgency to the Spitzerian task of repairing the damage of past violence. Comparing Stalin to Hitler, Columbia law professor Lindsay Rogers said: "The cardian task of our universities and of their graduates is to help keep this western land bright, and in our own interest to do what we can to restore to Europe a measure of that heritage which it has by its sins of commission and omission, cruelly lost."[69]

Usually ebullient Henri Peyre was troubled. Speaking at a major symposium on literature at Homewood in April 1948, Yale's Peyre thanked those at Hopkins "who took the courageous initiative to call upon eminent critics from this country and abroad to discuss a subject often deemed alien to the pressing preoccupations of a machine-haunted and war-ridden world. . . . "[70] Beginning a few months later, the courage of Hopkins was put to a two-year trial of headlines in the Alger Hiss and Owen Lattimore cases.

Hopkins' postwar students first heard about Alger Hiss when he and the British Ambassador, Lord Inverchapel, received honorary degrees on Commemoration Day (February 22,) 1947. There was much to honor. An undergraduate campus leader in the mid-Twenties, Hiss also had been Secretary of the Tudor and Stuart Club and a member of Phi Beta Kappa. He finished at the top of Harvard Law School and, consequently, became Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' law clerk. One of the young talents in New Deal Washington, he climaxed a career in several departments as the administrative organizer of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945. By the time Hiss accepted his LL.D., he had been chosen by John Foster Dulles and other Establishment figures to become president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

In the Commemoration Day ceremony and again in a campus talk, Hiss warned that "another world war would probably destroy civilization." He naturally supported the United Nations, saying that the United States must assume the lead in the quest for peace. He gave a similar message at Haverford College's commencement in June 1947; here, he favorably quoted the president of Columbia, Dwight Eisenhower. Then came the confrontation which inaugurated the Nixon-McCarthy era.[71]

Hiss was accused of being an active Communist spy in Franklin Roosevelt's State Department. Even though he was protected by the statute of limitations, Hiss denied these charges and thus voluntarily opened the way for a perjury indictment. Hiss' repeated declarations of innocence and the strong support he received from prominent figures fueled the opposition's campaign, for Hiss was a symbol of the Establishment's presumably arrogant pride. As Princeton's R. P. Blackmur emphasized about an episode in *The Brothers Karamazov* during a 1950 visit: "The peasants did not see a crime; they saw guilt."[72]

On the question of Communism, Baltimore and the rest of Maryland stood to the right of national public opinion. However, significant support for Hiss came not only from Dean Acheson, whose plain, rural, conservative neighbors stuck by him during his own long trial of villification, but also from many old Baltimore acquaintances whose opinions of FDR and Harry Truman might still be unprintable.

Journalist Murray Kempton, a prewar student editor at Hopkins, believed that Hiss lied about a radical past because he feared he would lose status, having already been born into a losing caste, Baltimore society. Some postwar students fit Kempton's description of decaying Baltimore gentility, but those members of his social class who achieved anything like Hiss' record were working too hard and were too realistic to care about social prestige.[73]

William Manchester, a reporter for *The Sun* in the Fifties, held that Hiss was properly convicted by the mound of documents he was accused of turning over to the Communists. But anyone who later looked into the American diplomatic record of the Thirties could easily classify the State Department documents as the kind of bureaucratic paperwork one or another of the confessed low-level Department spies might think important. And anyone who subsequently saw how the Soviet intelligence service operated could not readily believe that any well-placed agent would volunteer—much less be allowed—to turn over volumes of comparative trivia to a manifestly unstable, overtly dramatic contact.[74]

Hiss' conviction came in January 1950, at about the time of midyear examinations. To at least a few students, the future appeared bleak in this country for intellectuals and liberals. Instead of looking forward to going out into the "world," some felt as if the universities were soon going to become the only refuges left.[75]

The second phase of the Nixon-McCarthy era began in February 1950 in Wheeling, West Virginia. Johns Hopkins soon was involved again. Professor Owen Lattimore, director of the Walter Hines Page School (later, the School for Advanced International Studies), was accused of being the top Communist agent in the United States.[76] But one of the faculty leaders of his defense was George Boas, distinguished in art, politics, philosophy, military service in both World Wars, the good life, and even with a novel to his name.

Boas was one of three model philosophers at Hopkins immediately after the War. There was the racing fan, Albert Hammond, who worked more than one of his philosophical essays around gallant horses he had seen, Runyonesque nobles he had railbirded with, and the function of luck and chance in the world. Hammond was universally beloved: at his retirement dinner a few years before his death, The Johns Hopkins Philosophical Association was renamed The Hammond Society.[77]

The other model philosopher was part of a notable line in the Department. There had been C. S. Peirce, Josiah Royce, and John Dewey, and then, Arthur Oncken Lovejoy. Like Albert Hammond, Lovejoy had his substantial amount of hair clipped quite close. Also, both were as trim as they were short. Seventy-five in 1948, he could still overwhelm his colleagues with another performance of quick wit, erudition, and memory. The scene might be a beer party at The Tudor and Stuart Club. Lovejoy, slumped in an uncomfortable folding chair, would puff away incessantly through a cigarette holder (which went well with his imperial) as he debated other scholars in their own fields. Clouds appeared to be coming from the chimney of his brain.[78]

Lovejoy had retired from active teaching before the War. But the Lovejovian tradition was kept bright, for since 1921 his self-proclaimed disciple, George Boas, had taught at the University. Virtually every book or article by Boas was dedicated to Lovejoy, filled with gratitude for his explication of this or that point, or at least suffused with the historical approach to the study of ideas.[79] And upholding another departmental giant, on two conspicuous occasions during the late Forties Boas praised John Dewey: in a *Partisan Review* symposium, "Religion and the Intellectual," and in an issue of *The New Republic* celebrating Dewey's ninetieth birthday.[80]

Boas' views on religion drew fire from William Buckley in his undelivered valedictory at Yale in 1950. But Boas himself was not prejudiced against different types of people, in his undergraduate classes above all. He relished debating with some of the agreeable but less profound gentlemen students. Engineering undergraduates overwhelmingly chose his surveys. As Karl Shapiro said in a poetic portrait, Boas was "never superior to the questioner." "You know the history of trying to know," the poet declared.[81]

One week, Boas would argue the case so convincingly for Marx that the local witchhunters were expected to storm the campus for sure. The next week he would take Marx down peg by peg until little was left. Steering away from rigid theorists of any kind of taste—the Great Books exponents, the New Humanists, the Freudians—he would demonstrate that even "great works, such as the *Mona Lisa*, went through times in which they were scorned.[82]

Nearing sixty when he returned from the War, Boas was bald except for closely trimmed fringes. But he worked so much on his farm north of Baltimore—(commuting in a dilapidated 1937 Pontiac)—that a permanent tan took the place of hair. He was always impeccably dressed and groomed, outdoing himself when delivering the welcome at the dedication of the Cone Collection at the nearby Baltimore Museum of Art. For the public opening of this great collection of French moderns (which hitherto had covered every wall of one of the Cone Sisters' Baltimore apartments), Boas wore white tie, formal pumps, and

the star and sash of his Belgian order.[83]

His decorations were a reminder that Boas was always involved in John Dewey's "here and now." He had spent twenty-seven months as a Navy commander in Europe, returning as late as February 1946. With other liberal anti-Communists, he founded the short-lived American Veterans Committee to give ex-GIs an alternative to right-wing veterans' outfits. He was a "horsefly," as the student paper called him, when dealing philosophically with the ideological conflicts of the Cold War: raising Marx up only to drop him from a higher point or decrying political hysteria in both America and the Soviet Union. He was outspokenly shocked when someone gave away Paul Robeson records to avoid the witchhunters, and he denounced the string of Jim Crow laws still enforced in Baltimore.[84]

The "horribleness" of Bowman's anti-Semitism had almost caused him to leave his beloved lifelong academic home. Looking back, though, he was full of praise for the way Detlev Bronk, Bowman's successor, handled the Owen Lattimore case, the episode which perhaps more than the Hiss affair brought Hopkins—and Boas—fully into the headlines of the late Forties.[85]

Owen Lattimore, like Boas, was active in World War II, arriving back from State Department duty, also like Boas, well after V-J Day. A full professor who never got a B.A., Lattimore published and spoke frequently during the postwar period on Cold War subjects—always taking an objective but pro-Western position. He even brought a robed "living Buddha" to the campus to stimulate Mongolian studies while giving the priest refuge from Communist oppression.[86]

Hopkins therefore was generally flabbergasted when Owen Lattimore was headlined as the top Communist agent in the country. Harvard's Zachariah Chafee called McCarthy's charge part of a "barbarian invasion;"[87] no prominent Hopkins figure said otherwise. Students and friends turned out all kinds of memoranda, petitions, and appeals. The whole zealous and well-organized effort reflected the leadership of George Boas, Clarence Long (the future dean of Maryland Congressmen), and other members of the faculty support committee.

Hardly a professor was absent from the list; the relief was virtually universal when Lattimore was cleared by conservative Maryland Senator Millard Tydings' committee of all of McCarthy's charges. Weeks before the committee verdict was announced formally, Lattimore was received home in triumph. Boas declared to a tumultuous gathering of 600 on 16 May, "the clouds of poison gas that is spreading over the country has not yet smothered the faculty of The Johns Hopkins University, who remain faithful to their university motto, 'The truth will set you free.'"

Lattimore thanked friends for "even looking after my house." Then he warned that pressure groups "are trying to establish, and to an alarming extent have actually succeeded in imposing forms of thought control that are all the more sinister for being entirely without legal definition or validity." He had been "humiliated" by demands that he cite Communist attacks on his work to prove that his scholarship was sound, and his bones 'had run soft' when he learned that some friends had thought it prudent not to support him openly. Lattimore and Boas concluded the meeting with a somber caution: "It might happen to anyone of us."[88]

Owen Lattimore had been scheduled for some time to speak on the evening of June 28, 1950. Lattimore discarded his original academic lecture and went to the podium with an impromptu, emotional reaction to the Korean invasion. Lattimore mourned Chiang Kai-shek as a "once great figure," and called Syngman Rhee one of those "puppets" who "are remembered all over Asia as marks of the dark centuries of imperial domination." He declared that Truman's intervention was "both morally and politically justified. . . . A crisis precipitated by marching across an internationally recognized frontier to impose a new political regime by force demands and justifies emergency action." Choking visibly, he recalled warning the State Department that the temporary wartime division of Korea at the Thirty-eighth Parallel would be dangerous if allowed to stand. He hoped correctly that Truman's "calculated risk" would not result in World War III. He warned, also correctly, that in foreign affairs there was a long time lag between cause and effect. Despite the humid night, the lithe, crewcut Lattimore stood ramrod proud to the finish. The crowd of 800 in the Gilman quadrangle gave him an ovation.[89] They were standing where the Hopkins ROTC cadets had drilled the afternoon after Pearl Harbor. The postwar Forties were over.

Three

Also over—and almost forgot until the economic crisis of the Seventies—was the nasty recession of 1949–1950. As early as January 1949, the student paper editorialized about a *New York Times* article headed, "Millions of BA's, But No Jobs." By the spring of 1950, in the new *Johns Hopkins Magazine*, senior Ben Herman was describing even less hopeful career prospects for his class. Quoting a *Fortune* study of the class of 1949 and *Life's* criticism of the "new 49er's" search for job security at the expense of challenge, Herman argued: "Many contend that an individual can seek security without becoming a slave to it; they see no basic conflict between security and creativeness." But, Herman continued, with the Secretary of Labor and others warning about unemployment for college graduates, his classmates were discarding any remaining illusions about the world outside. Veterans, especially, were trying to make contacts or trying to choose a graduate program or whatever else would get them into "one of the big companies." Unsurprisingly, Herman found his classmates too busy "to reflect yet about the past four years" or to get "watery eyes when they reminisce."[90]

They soon would be busier still, trying to adjust their lives to Korea. But now even the 10 percent of American students in the liberal arts (down from 17 percent in 1939 and 27 percent in 1929, according to a Hopkins study[91]) did not have to worry, especially if they could fit into the military-industrial-academic complex.[92] Even more advantageously placed for fruitful careers were those undergraduates—often scientists—who were to be chosen for accelerated education. Launching a new Hopkins program in 1951, President Bronk said: "In the shrunken world of the accelerated present," students would not be divided into classes but would proceed to the Ph.D. as rapidly as they could.[93]

Long before Sputnik, then, the Korean Conflict lent a sense of urgency to a curriculum change which actually had been planned for some time.[94] Similarly, the University accelerated defense work at the expanded Applied Physics and Radiation Laboratories and at a new think tank, the Operations Research Office.

By the fall of 1950, the president was proudly reporting to the trustees that Hopkins was well prepared once again "to serve our community and nation."[95]

Fortunately, academic witchhunting died down, not a moment too soon,[96] and for the next quarter-century jetting professors often saw less of their ivory towers than of the worldwide research fronts of the Cold War.[97] A longer-lasting achievement was recorded on one home front: with more than 6,000 graduates on other faculties by 1975, Hopkins had more than doubled the number of teaching alumni alive in Bowman's time.[98] One man who made sure that the humanities were not completely overshadowed by everything else was Milton Stover Eisenhower, who became head of Hopkins for nearly twelve years. The University's foremost administrator since Gilman, Eisenhower was aided by many, including two teachers from the Forties who embodied the vision of scholarship until the end of their lives in the Seventies: Don Cameron Allen and Earl Reeves Wasserman.

The Tudor and Stuart Club had been founded by Sir William and Lady Osler in memory of their son, Revere, killed in the Great War, to foster the family's twin interests in medicine and literature.[99] In 1973, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding, characteristic photographs of Earl Reeves Wasserman were hung on the paneled walls of the clubroom.[100] He had died suddenly the month before after a lecture, apparently, at 59, in the glow of mature good health. Shadows never seemed to cross the ruddy, open face of this smiling man with the fine, deep voice, expressive manner, and a full head of hair. But earlier in life he had carried burdens which might have broken another man. After Lionel Trilling one of the first generation of middle class American Jews to succeed in departments of English, Wasserman was once excluded from the all-Christian faculty of a private university despite Raymond Dexter Havens' courageously high recommendation. A non-military man by nature, he saw combat in World War II. Wanting above all to return to Hopkins, where he had received his B.A. in 1934 and Ph.D. in 1937, he had to take a temporary demotion and undergo a demeaning interview with Bowman. Earl Wasserman soon advanced, but suffered several personal sorrows. At one point in the late Forties, he was driving himself around the clock, taking naps on Tudor and Stuart Club benches.[101]

None of this shadowed his early essay on Keats. And later, he never looked back bitterly to the start of his progress towards a chair and highest critical acclaim for his work on Shelley. Instead, he would vividly recall his students of the early Hopkins years: they had such well-developed personalities, he would say. Or, while Vietnam was still raging, he would recall, along with the "deceitful horror" of a South Pacific bombardment in World War II, the many shipmates he had persuaded to go into teaching after their discharge.[102]

Don Cameron Allen was another member of the English Department whose inspirational career at Hopkins spanned the decades from the Forties to the Seventies. His framed photograph rests on the mantlepiece in the comfortably delapidated Tudor and Stuart Club, near the worn leather chair he liked to occupy during the monthly beer-drinking sessions. He never forgot his own humble beginnings as a threadbare student at Illinois. Do not consider a certain

college, he once advised a teacher. "They don't want people like you and me. They'll take somebody from their side of the tracks."

Not outwardly as warm as Wasserman, Allen appealed to undergraduates with his wit, delivered out of the side of his mouth in a deep, far-carrying voice which quivered somewhere in his throat at the end of each phrase. Early baldness (he was 41 at war's end), prominent nose and mouth, and folded-leathery chin were features of a head which was too big for his rather short, thin body. Like Boas, he looked directly at people, with conspicuous eyes, a habit which made them conscious of what kind of glasses he wore. Like Lovejoy, he chain-smoked through a silver-tipped cigarette holder; he looked like FDR when he cocked his head back to laugh with holder clenched between a large set of teeth.

A practicing poet, he gloomily served once as departmental chairman. The appointment brought a telephone into his office-study, an instrument both he and Spitzer resented.[103] More to his liking, in 1950 he was named Sir William Osler Professor of English, an old title revived for him.

Barely recovering from a critical operation, Allen died a few years later, in 1972 at 68. Towards the end, he was depressed by current students: "no one reads, everyone wants relationships without depth." He recalled his own philosophy of teaching, forged in the Forties, as based on his belief in the "Republic of Opportunity and the Aristocracy of Excellence."[104] Parts of a last chore, a Fulbright-sponsored report on major modern language departments, went beyond his survey and became a personal summing up. This last essay concluded, in part:

> The ultimate reward of the humanistic teacher of modern literature comes when, at the end of his days, he can remember a long procession of those to whom he has given a place in the continuity of human consciousness, whose mortal loneliness he has alleviated, and to whom the past is present and the future not yet in despair.[105]

I read these lines to my students each fall.

References

1. Pedro Salinas, *Zero*, Eleanor L. Turnbull, trans., Vol. V of the *Distinguished Poets Series of Contemporary Poetry*, Mary Owings Miller, ed. (Baltimore: 1947), selections from III, IV, V. ("Cero" appeared originally in *Cuademos Americanos* (Mexico) (September-October 1944).
2. Undocumented statements in this essay are based on the author's personal recollections, which date from attendance at an elementary school summer session at Homewood in June and July 1940. One or another draft of this essay has been read by the following professors or students of the era: Bentley Glass, Lloyd C. Davidson, Clarence Long, Sidney Offit, Patricia Rice Sandival, and Frank P. L. Somerville. A previous draft was copy-edited by Robert Connell, Richard Easton, and Anne Lee Gearhart. None of these helpful readers is responsible for remaining shortcomings of any kind.
3. E.g. Pedro Salinas, "Nine or Ten Poets," in Eleanor L. Turnbull, trans., *Contemporary Spanish Poetry: Selections from Ten Poets* (Baltimore, 1945).
4. Leo Spitzer, "The Formation of the American Humanist," *PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 65 (February 1951): 43: "An address given at the General Meeting of the Modern Language Association in New York, December 28, 1950," *ibid.*: 39.
5. Henry Pachter, "On Being an Exile: An Old-Timer's Personal and Political Memoir," in Robert Boyers, ed., *The Legacy of the German Refugee Intellectuals* (New York, 1969), pp. 16, 20, 45-46; Editorial on the Four Freedoms, *The Johns Hopkins News-Letter* [student newspaper], December 6, 1946.
6. William E. Gresham (Class of 1949) wrote observant sketches of racial injustice in Baltimore; e.g. "Sic Transit," *Lit* [student literary magazine] 2 (February 1947).

7. But Sidney Offit (Class of 1950) turned his experiences as a Jewish youth in Baltimore into cheerfully wise novels and short stories, such as *Only a Girl Like You* (New York, 1972).
8. [Robert P. Sharkey], *Johns Hopkins: Portrait of a University* (Baltimore, 1961), p. 26, for WHO details; see Isaiah Bowman, Annual Report of the President, *The Johns Hopkins University Circular*, New Series 1946, 65 (November 1946): 12–13, for appointment of Dr. Lowell D. Reed as vice president of the University, "with special reference to the medical division;" and Bowman, Annual Report of the President, *Hopkins Circular* 66 (November 1947): 20–22, for news of major bequests and honors for survivors of the first medical class of 1897. The author thanks Secretary of the University Victor H. Dates, Professor Emeritus Ferdinand Hamburger, Jr., Director of Centennial Planning, and his Research Assistant, Mrs. Martha Hartzell, for facilitating my limited access to the University Archives.
9. Undergraduate catalogue, *Hopkins Circular* 67 (1948): 36.
10. Hopkins' early postwar history can be conveniently traced in [Sharkey], *Portrait*, the later period and overview in Robert P. Sharkey, *Johns Hopkins: Centennial Portrait of a University* (Baltimore, 1975).
11. Professor Emeritus Bentley Glass, in a letter from East Setauket, New York, October 25, 1976, correctly pointed out to the author that missing from the essay were the "nationally known postwar achievements in the natural sciences and engineering, and in the Medical School and School of Hygiene;" for corrective, see Sharkey, *Centennial Portrait*, and Bertram M. Bernheim, *The Story of the Johns Hopkins* (New York, 1948).
12. Howard Bruce Goodrich in *The News-Letter*, April 18, 1947; see also the excellent, Bob Smith, *Lacrosse: Technique and Tradition* (Baltimore, 1976), pp. 201–203.
13. J. Paxton Davis, column, *The News-Letter*, May 20, 1949: the veterans were "without illusion, without a need for a slogan;" Offit, *The News-Letter*, May 20, 1949, and similar disenchantment with old grads at Homecoming, *ibid.*, April 22, 1949; for Gilman quotation, in letter to founding editors of *The News-Letter*, in 1897, see John C. French, *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore, 1946), p. 276, Ben Herman, "The Class of 1950," *The Johns Hopkins Magazine* I (June 1950): 17.
14. F. Scott Fitzgerald, Baltimore, to Laura Guthrie, September 1935, quoted in Andrew Turnbull, *Scott Fitzgerald* (New York, 1962), 266–267.
15. Robert Coughlan, "Isaiah Bowman, world's leading political geographer, now has a new set of boundary worries," *Life*, October 22, 1945: 118–129.
16. Isaiah Bowman, Paris, letter to wife, 19 January 1919, in Isaiah Bowman Papers, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University. The author wishes to thank the University Librarian, David H. Stam, and the superb staff of the Manuscript Division for their many kindnesses.
17. E.g. Bowman, Annual Report of the President, *Hopkins Circular* 66 (November 1947): 9; Bowman, Annual Report of the President, *ibid.* 67 (November 1948): 11–12.
18. Bowman, in San Francisco, to family, May 21, 1945, and to wife, June 8, 1945, in Bowman Papers; e.g. Bowman, Annual Report of the President, *Hopkins Circular* 64 (November 1945): 4: "If we judge our opportunities and act wrongly during the postwar years, war will come again."
19. Conversation with Representative Clarence Long (D., Md.), Washington, Pennsylvania, May 29, 1977: the future laureate was Simon Kuznets; decades later Professor Long was still flabbergasted by Bowman's tone. (The author has not seen any of the memoranda Dr. Bowman reportedly kept of all interviews.); Bowman strongly criticized Walter Lippmann's performance at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 (Memorandum, October 5, 1939, noting Lippmann's Jewish background and ambition in passing), but backed his appointment to the Board of the Council on Foreign Relations (letter to Hamilton Fish Armstrong, February 30, 1936); he blasted the Zionists at San Francisco (Minutes of a Meeting of the American Delegation, San Francisco Conference, May 28, 1945, 5), but earlier had described Hitler's pre-Crystal Night anti-Jewish program without anti-Semitic remarks (Bowman, in Zurich, to Daniel Willard, in Baltimore, August 7, 1938), and he praised the great Brigadier "Freddie" Kisch in one of many warm exchanges with Hopkins Professor Abel Wolman (letter, Bowman, Baltimore, to Wolman, October 18, 1945, inferentially accepting an invitation to speak to a Jewish group about Palestine); finally, though even when he was recommending an author he could be sly (letter, Bowman, Baltimore, to Armstrong, February 4, 1946: "Dr. Isaac Leon Kandel (Jew)"), Bowman was a paternal model in letters of advice to future Hopkins Professor M. Gordon Wolman (Class of 1949), then an outstanding student and lacrosse captain (Bowman, in Baltimore, to "Reds" Wolman, January 28 and February 11, 1949); all documents in Bowman Papers; Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America, 1930–1960* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), "300 Notable Émigrés," pp. 675–718 (conspicuously missing is Harold Cherniss, of Hopkins and the Advanced Institute); but, in address to Dr. Alvin Johnson's group founding The New School for

Social Research, Bowman stressed the budgetary and personnel difficulties connected with hiring refugee scholars in American schools (Mimeographed copy of address, January 15, 1936, in Bowman Papers); Bowman, to Louis Singer, May 6, 1948, in File 307 of Presidential File (1903–1963), Johns Hopkins University Archives.

20. The only black graduate student before the War was Kelly Miller (died December 29, 1939), Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Howard University and graduate student in mathematics, 1887–1889 (Memorandum, May 15, 1940, in File No. 73, Negro Education, November 1, 1939–1948, in Presidential File, Johns Hopkins University Archives); *The News-Letter*, February 27, 1946, contained a long, forceful editorial against all racial and religious prejudice in victorious America, with explicit Baltimore examples: N.B.: Angela ("Tommie") DeVinney, in the Engineering School in the postwar Forties, was perhaps the first Hopkins coed.
21. Bowman, Annual Report of the President, *Hopkins Circular* 64 (November 1945): 3, 6–8; *The News-Letter*, November 28, 1945; see also Coughlan, "Bowman;" "Four Years of War," in *Hullabaloo: 1947* (the Hopkins yearbook), pp. 21–26; cf., *The News-Letter*, editorial, October 1, 1946: " . . . talk of war can only breed war;" Bowman, Annual Report of the President, *Hopkins Circular* 66 (November 1947): 4, 5, 9.
22. Bowman, *The Social Contract of An Educated Man: Address Delivered to Entering Students, September 20, 1946 (Baltimore, 1946),* reprinted in *Association of Ameerican Colleges Bulletin* 32 (December 1946): 498–505; Bowman, Address to Freshmen, *The News-Letter*, October 1, 1948.
23. Irene M. Davis, Survey of 569 Undergraduates Who Entered in the Autumn of 1946, Mimeographed, n.d., with attachment comparing classes from 1946 to 1967, dated August 3, 1971, copy in Archives: veterans actually comprised 57 percent of total; see also [Sharkey], *Portrait*, p. 43, and Registrar's Report, *Hopkins Circular* 68 (1949): 118; cf., Garland G. Parker, *The Enrollment Explosion: A Half-Century of Attendance in U.S. Colleges and Universities* (New York, 1971), p. 39, which set the GI high tide nationally in 1947–1948; the President's File 534.2 in the Archives contained, John Wesley Coulter, "Veterans *Are* Different," *Ohio Schools* 25 (April, 1947): 184, which claimed veterans needed "leadership and guidance" more than non-veterans; Baltimore's *The Evening Sun*, of December 18, 1947 reported a Hopkins veteran had been accused of burglary but released to the Veterans Administration for treatment of "unconscious pressures;" Bell Telephone Company advertisement, *The News-Letter*, January 17, 1947.
24. Dean Emeritus G. Wilson Shaffer said the veterans helped the younger students to grow up "pretty quick:" conversation with Dr. Shaffer, Baltimore, June 11, 1971; Report of the Registrar, *Hopkins Circular* 69 (1950): 135, citing Davis, Survey, copy in File 1.6, Presidential File, Johns Hopkins University Archives; Offit, "No Cream Please," *The 1948 Hullabaloo,* pp. 170–171, referred to the previous year's 20 percent flunk rate in a required Political Economy course; cf., "Grade Inflation: A Chimerical Problem?" *The Johns Hopkins Magazine* 28 (July 1977): 29–30; W. Scott Ditch, Columbia, Maryland, to Class of 1950, December 9, 1976.
25. E.g. Professor Frederick Chapin Lane, Comment, *The 1966 Hullabaloo,* p. 57; "Programs for Returned Servicemen," Undergraduate Schools Catalogue, 1945–1946, *Hopkins Circular* 64 (1945): 19; Registrar's Report, *Hopkins Circular* 66 (1947): 116.
26. Donald C. Babcock, "November: Postwar Campus," *The New Yorker*, November 8, 1947: 93.
27. Conversation with Mrs. Carolyn Taylor Gutierrez, Washington, Pennsylvania, 28 April 1972.
28. "Editorial Announcement" of a "continuing symposium in modern Southern literature:" Louis D. Rubin, Jr., ed., *The Hopkins Review* 5 (Fall 1951): 3; Robert Flottemesch, "Gert Stein—An Open Letter: On the Death of a Heroine," *Lit* 2 (November 1946); Lex Crane, review of Thomas Heggen, *Mister Roberts* (New York, 1947), in *Lit* 2 (April 1947); see Philip Moon, whose life was tragically foreshortened, in "F. Scott Redivivus," *Lit* 1 (Spring 1946); Pedro Salinas, "Lorca and the Poetry of Death," *The Hopkins Review* 5 (Fall 1951): 5–12, published shortly before Salinas' death.
29. Eugene Blank, "The Guiltless Dead" and "Another?" in first and only "They Remember" section, *Lit* 1 (Spring 1946).
30. Paxton Davis, column, *The News-Letter*, March 18, 1949, and unsigned pieces in *The 1949 Hullabaloo*, pp. 14–15 and 104; Offit, "We may take ourselves pretty seriously . . . but it seems to me that college today is pretty serious business:" interview in the Baltimore *Sun*, December 26, 1947; cf., Elia Katz, "JHU—The Name Without a Place," in *The 1966 Hullabaloo*, p. 179; the Marriage for Moderns Series drew 325 of a two-thirds veteran student body (*The News-Letter*, May 2, 1947); very few Hopkins men could share Louis Auchincloss, "So Brief a Time," in *Yale Alumni Magazine* 37 (June 1974): 7–9, excerpted from Auchincloss, *A Writer's Capital* (Minneapolis, 1974).
31. *Reveille* 1 (December 10, 1946), in File 534.2, 1946–1951, in Presidential File, Johns Hopkins University Archives; editorial, *The News-Letter*, March 13, 1946; Ernest Hopkins, Dartmouth College president, made the rare admission that his school limited Jewish admissions: Eric F.

Goldman, B.A., 1935, Ph.D., 1938, *The Crucial Decade—And After: America, 1945–1960* (New York, 1956), p. 42.

32. For comparisons: conversations with Professor David Abosch (CCNY, Brooklyn, Berkley), Washington, D.C., Summer 1971; Dr. Barbara Kraft (Michigan), Washington, D.C., 25 August 1970; Dr. R. Terrill Wingfield (Duke, London), Lynchburg, Va., August 1972; Howard Goldfarb (Washington & Jefferson College and Harvard Law School), and Mrs. Sydney Heyman Goldfarb (Wellesley), Washington, Pa., 1970–1977; Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven, 1974), p. 410; Arthur E. Sutherland, *The Law at Harvard: A History of Ideas and Men, 1817–1967* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 315–319.
33. John Barth, *The Floating Opera* (Garden City, N.Y., 1956), pp. 128–131: and women and liquor, inasmuch as the novel is laid in the Twenties.
34. Professor James Franck, the Nobel laureate physicist at Hopkins from 1935–1938, told Professor George Boas one day that he had just gone to Dr. Bowman to tell him that he was turning down a higher offer from Chicago out of gratitude for his reception at Hopkins. Dr. Franck said that Bowman, thinking Franck was bargaining, castigated "all you Jewish scholars," who "come over here to make money." Dr. Franck told Dr. Boas he could do nothing but leave: telephone conversation with Professor Emeritus George Boas, Baltimore, March 21, 1972; cf., Leo Spitzer's 1952 salary of $7200, an example of "the economic peonage in which scholars were held at that time:" Dr. Clarence Long, Washington, D.C., to author, July 6, 1977.
35. Harry Levin, "Two *Romanisten* in America: Spitzer and Auerbach," in Fleming and Bailyn, *The Intellectual Migration*, p. 469.
36. For treatment of Paul, William Foxwell Albright, "The Bible," in Francis H. Horn, ed., *Literary Masterpieces of the Western World* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 3–20; for treatment of the nomads, Wendell Phillips, Introduction, *University of California African Expedition*, Reprint (Baltimore, 1948); conversations with Lee Farris, Baltimore, Winter, 1948–1949; Edmund Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea* (New York; 1955), *passim*.
37. An undergraduate favorite was, Sidney Painter, *William Marshal: Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (Baltimore, 1933); Painter's "Gentlemen! The queen must have been a most entrancing woman!" was voted most memorable quotation in the fiftieth anniversay issue of *The News-Letter*, April 25, 1947; letter, Sidney Painter, Baltimore, to Bowman, reprinted in *The News-Letter*, November 22, 1946; Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), "Preface;" see warm tribute in unsigned obituary, *American Historical Review* 65 (April 1960): p. 781; Painter died January 12, 1960 at 57.
38. E.g. Henry T. Rowell, "The Impact of the War on Classical Archeology," *American Journal of Archeology* 50 (1946): 289–290; Rowell, "Protection of Libraries in Italy During the War," *Journal of the Maryland Library Association* 13 (1946); re Rowell: Report of the President, *Hopkins Circular* 65 (1946): 31; C. Vann Woodward, *The Battle for Leyte Gulf* (New York, 1947); G. D. Stoddard, in *Ferment in Education: The Installation of G. D. Stoddard as President of the University of Illinois, 16 May 1947* (Urbana, 1948), p. 1, and see *ibid.*, pp. 11, 30, 37, and 72, for other speakers' Bowman-style sentiments on academic teamwork, ex-GIs, and defense research; Karl Shapiro, "Troop Train," from *V-Letter and Other Poems* (New York, 1944, 1945), reprinted in Shapiro, *Selected Poems* (New York, 1968), pp. 76–77.
39. James Bryant Conant, *Education in a Divided World: The Function of the Public Schools in Our unique Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), p. 52.
40. Shapiro, "Elegy for a Dead Soldier," Stanza X, in Shapiro, *Selected Poems*, pp. 104–108.
41. Shapiro, "The Progress of Faust," in Shapiro, *Selected Poems*, pp. 121–122; cf., Shapiro, "Going to School," in *ibid.*, pp. 169–171, for a poet weary with teaching; Jacques Barzun, "History as a Liberal Art," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (January 1945): 88; Hajo Holborn, "History and the Humanities," in *ibid.* 9 (January 1948): 68; Max Lerner, "The Human Heart and the Human Will," reprinted in Lerner, *Actions and Passions*, pp. 3–4; Lerner, "Epilogue: Toward a Tragic Humanism," reprinted in Lerner, *Actions and Passions*, pp. 358–359.
42. Ernst Feise, "Goethe's Faust," in Horn, ed., *Literary Masterpieces*, p. 201.
43. Arno C. Schirokauer and Leo Spitzer, "German Words, German Personality, and Protestantism," *Psychiatry* 12 (1949): 185–187, combatted teutonophobic stereotypes, as did Leo Spitzer in "Geistesgeschichte *vs.* History of Ideas as applied to Hitlerism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5 (April 1944): 191–203.
44. For Weimar lowlife, see George Grosz, *Ecce Homo* (New York: 1965); for Weimar highlife, see Harry Kessler, *In the Twenties: The Diaries of Harry Kessler*, Charles Kessler, Trans. (New York, 1961); for appreciation of Schnabel's Beethoven Sonata Cycle, see Hans Kollwitz, ed., *The Diary and Letters of Kaethe Kollwitz*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (Chicago, 1955), esp., diary entries for February 13 and 26, 1927.
45. A selected bibliography was appended to René Wellek's obituary article, "Leo Spitzer

(1887–1960)," *Comparative Literature* 12 (Fall 1960): 330–334, and 13 (Winter 1961): 378–379; "Nazi Purge of the Universities," *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*, May 19, 1933, reproduced in Fleming and Bailyn, eds., *The Intellectual Migration*, p. 234; re Lisztian profile: Professor; Regina Soria, letter to the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, October 11, 1960, q. Dr. Angela Biancini (Ph.D., 1946).

46. "Leo Spitzer," *The Johns Hopkins Magazine* 3 (April 1952): 27; see also Levin, "Romanisten," p. 470; Wellek, "Spitzer," pp. 310–311.
47. See dedication, dated September, 1945, to Anna Granville Hatcher, in Spitzer, *Linguistics and Literary History: Essays in Stylistics* (Princeton, 1948), pp. v–vi; Henri Peyre, Foreward, Leo Spitzer, *Essays on English and American Literature*, ed. Anna Hatcher (Princeton, 1962), p. vi; Anna Granville Hatcher, ed., Editor's Note, in Leo Spitzer, *Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony: Prolegomena to an Interpretation of the Word "Stimmung,"* René Wellek, Preface (Baltimore, 1963), p. xi.
48. Helmut Hatzfeld, "Necrology: Leo Spitzer (1887–1960)," *Hispanic Review* 29 (January 1961): 54–57; Levin, "Romanisten," p. 471; Spitzer, *Linguistics*, esp. Chapter I, "Linguistics and Literary History" (originally titled, "Thinking in the Humanities"), pp. 7, 27, 32; Wellek, "Spitzer," pp. 313, 317, 329; see also Wesley Morris, *Towards a New Historicism* (Princeton, 1972), pp. 172–177, for succinct description of Spitzer's method.
49. His former student, Anna Granville Hatcher, had trouble at first also: Spitzer, *Linguistics*, p. 26; the Undergraduate Catalogue (1948–1949), *Hopkins Circular* 67 (1948): 106, described the role of the professor and the students in Literary Classics: "together they will seek an understanding of the subject."
50. See Spitzer, *Linguistics*, Chapter III, "The Récit de Théramène;" also see Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, William R. Trask, trans. (Princeton, 1946), pp. 411–413, for appreciation of Spitzer's interpretation of Voltaire.
51. Spitzer, *Linguistics*: on first play, p. 2, on atmosphere, p. 29; see also Spitzer, "The Works of Rabelais," in Horn, *Literary Masterpieces*, pp. 126–147, for another example of his dramatic method of teaching.
52. Spitzer discussed the chaos of Céline's writing, *Linguistics*, p. 22; in "History of Ideas Versus Reading of Poetry," *Southern Review* 6 (1940–41): 584–609, Spitzer said he believed that Charlie Chaplin's dance with the global balloon in *The Great Dictator* would be enjoyed by future generations whom he hoped would not know anything about Hitler.
53. See Karl Löwith, *From Hegel to Nietzsche: The Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Thought*, David E. Green, trans. (New York, 1941), Chapter V, Section 8: "Kierkegaard's Paradoxical Concept of Faith and His Attack Upon Existing Christendom;" see Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, 1943), pp. 156–171, for treatment of the *Melancolia I*; for a classic description of great teaching, see Panofsky, "The History of Art," in W. Rex Crawford, Introduction, *The Cultural Migration* (Philadelphia, 1953), pp. 108–109.
54. See Spitzer's comment on controversy, in Spitzer, *Essays*, p. 37; Morris, *Historicism*, pp. 151–155, succinctly treats Spitzer's critique of A. O. Lovejoy's history of ideas; Spitzer, "Understanding Milton," *The Hopkins Review* 4 (Summer 1951): 16–27, was a critique of George Boas' use of biographical data in art criticism; cf. George Boas' witty rebuttal, "Understanding Spitzer," in *ibid.*, pp. 28–30; see also, Hatzfeld, "Spitzer," pp. 56–57, and Levin, "Romanisten," p. 475.
55. For honors, see: Leo Spitzer, "The Formation of the American Humanist," *PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 66 (February 1951): 39–48; *Time*, June 28, 1954: 72; Levin, "Romanisten," p. 477.
56. Spitzer, "American Humanist, " pp. 47–48; re "information:" letter, Spitzer to Levin, August 17, 1951, q. in Levin, "Romanisten," p. 476.
57. Spitzer, *Linguistics*, p. 33, fn. 10 (including a graceful reference to Ludwig Edelstein); *ibid.*, 24, 27; 128 fn; see also, Wellek, "Spitzer," 327–328; Spitzer, "The Reader Replies: The Humanities—Today and Tomorrow," *The American Scholar* 16 (Winter 1947–1948): 93–94.
58. Spitzer, "American Humanist," pp. 42–43, 47; Spitzer, *Linguistics*, pp. 2–4, 15; in Spitzer, "Mes souvenirs de Meyer Lübke," *Le Français Moderne* 6 (1938): 213–224, Spitzer praised Meyer-Lübke as a "conservative Christian" who nonetheless championed his Jewish protégé's career.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 43; see for similar view of great teaching, Karl Jaspers, *The Idea of the University*, Karl W. Deutsch, ed., Robert Ulich, preface, H. A. T. Reiche and H. F. Vanderschmidt, trans. (Boston, 1945–1946), p. 57: ". . . the memory of outstanding scholars lecturing accompanies one throughout life. . . . "
60. Levin, "Romanisten," p. 480.
61. Shapiro, "Israel," in Shapiro, *Poems of a Jew* (New York, 1958), pp. 4, 70: "This poem was commissioned to be read at a celebration of the founding of the State of Israel in 1948. It was performed at a mass meeting in Baltimore in that year;" Philip Potter worked closely with

Homer Bigard, of the New York *Herald-Tribune*, in covering that war.

62. Interview with Professor V. O. Key and editorial, *The News-Letter*, October 29, 1948; editorial, February 18, 1949, and letter to editor, February 28, 1949, in *ibid.*; *The News-Letter* campaigned against racism at least as early as in the editorial, "Look Within Your Heart," *ibid.*, February 27, 1946; the Club's membership policy soon changed.
63. Editorial, in *ibid.*, November 19, 1948; the waltzing (?) professors were George Boas (Philosophy) and John McDiarmid (Greek).
64. In his presidential inaugural address, Martin D. Jenkins, "The Function of Morgan State College As A State Institution of Higher Learning," reprinted in *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* 36 (March 1950): 105–118, felt obligated to defend his obligation to note the fact that Maryland schools were segregated; this venerable black institution was separated from adjacent white housing by walls erected by the developers.
65. General Carl Spaatz, "Keeping the Peace for Which We Fought," address to student body, reported in *The News-Letter*, March 21, 1947, and attacked by a student letter to the editor in *ibid.*, March 28, 1947.
66. Henry Carrington Lancaster, *French Tragedy in the Time of Louis XV and Voltaire, 1715–1774*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1950), capped his nine-volume *History of Dramatic French Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, for which he received French academic honors.
67. Another war-related tragedy occurred in the Lancaster family on March 20, 1948.
68. Profile of Leroy Benoit, in *The News-Letter*, 1947–1948, copy missing from incomplete files, Johns Hopkins University Archives.
69. Arnold Toynbee, address to Hopkins community, March 25, 1947, reported in the Baltimore Sun, March 26, 1947, and *The News-Letter*, March 28, 1947; Professor Lindsay Rogers, quoted in the Baltimore *Sun*, June 8, 1948.
70. Henri Peyre, "The Criticism of Contemporary Writing," in R. P. Blackmur et al., *Lectures in Criticism: The Johns Hopkins University*, Bolligen Series XVI (New York, 1949), p. 120; for Peyre's sense of America's role in preserving European culture, see Peyre, "The Study of Literature," in Crawford, ed., *The Cultural Migration*, pp. 34, 49–50, 62; and, for his ebullience, *ibid.*, pp. 55, 58, 60.
71. Alger Hiss, quoted in *The News-Letter*, February 21, 1947 (on campus talk); for address similar to his major Hopkins speech, see Alger Hiss, "The Prospects for Peace," Commencement Address, Haverford College, June 7, 1947, printed in *Association of American Colleges Bulletin* 33 (October 1947): 483–492.
72. Richard Rovere, "Letter From Washington," *The New Yorker*, May 13, 1950: 85–91, deplored the "defensive assertions of outstanding Americanism" targets of Joseph McCarthy were forced to make; see R. P. Blackmur, *Eleven Essays in the European Novel* (New York, 1964), Part II, "Studies in Dostoyevsky."
73. Murray Kempton, *Part of Our Times: Some Ruins and Monuments of the Thirties* (New York, 1955), pp. 69–70; two Old Baltimore descendants could serve as examples: Pinckney Langlois Near and William Owings Peirson, Jr., of the Class of 1950, overcame financial and physical handicaps, respectively, to achieve distinguished careers as a curator and a teacher, respectively.
74. William Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream: A Narrative History of America, 1932–1972* (Boston, 1974), p. 510; cf., John Chabot Smith, *Alger Hiss: The True Story* (New York, 1976), e.g. illustrations of the original and pumpkin paper copy of the "Boyce Report" (following p. 246), in which the original is shown to have been routinely circulated and the copy to have reproduced even the "I have the honor to . . . " boilerplate; see Thomas O'Neill's extraordinary articles on both trials in the Baltimore *Sun* and Alistair Cooke, *A Generation on Trial: U.S.A. v. Alger Hiss* (New York, 1950), e.g. Chambers' description of two round trips per night on the (usually virtually empty) Baltimore-Washington trains, p. 291.
75. This position was succinctly stated in an anti-Hiss article, Diana Trilling, "A Memorandum on the Hiss Case," *Partisan Review* 17 (May–June 1950): 485: "It is those who believe Hiss, much more than those who believe Chambers, who are worried about the consequences of the case, fearful of the uses to which the retrograde forces in this country will put his conviction."
76. See, generally, Owen Lattimore, *Ordeal by Slander* (Boston, 1950).
77. "Tribute to a Teacher," *The Johns Hopkins Magazine* 13 (October 1961): 15–19, 28–29: excerpts from Albert L. Hammond, *Proprieties and Vagaries: A Philosophical Thesis From Science, Horse Racing, Sexual Customs, Religion, and Politics* (Baltimore, 1961); see also, Hammon, *Ideas About Substance* (Baltimore, 1969).
78. See Marjorie Nicolson, "A. O. Lovejoy as Teacher," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 9 (October 1948) (A. O. Lovejoy at Seventy-Five: Reason at Work): 430; his classic article, Lovejoy, "Reflections on the History of Ideas," appeared in the first issue, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1 (January 1940): 3–23; and see the recent memoir, Lewis S. Feuer, "Teaching: Arthur O.

Lovejoy," *The American Scholar* 46 (Summer 1977); memorable debates involved Lovejoy and Spitzer: e.g. Spitzer, "Geistesgeschichte vs. History of Ideas," and Lovejoy, "Reply to Mr. Spitzer," in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5 (April 1944): 203–203, 218–219; see also, Arthur Oncken Lovejoy, "Communism *versus* Academic Freedom" *The American Scholar* 18 (Summer 1949): 332–337; Ludwig Edelstein, "A. O. Lovejoy (1873–30 December 1962)," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 (October–December 1963): 456.

79. For praise of Lovejoy, see, e.g. George Boas, Preface, *Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1945); Boas, *The Inquiring Mind* (La Salle, Ill., 1959), x–xi, including praise of Hopkins; and E[lise]. H[ancock]., Interview with Boas, *The Johns Hopkins Magazine* 24 (September 1973), 39–40.
80. Boas, "The Literature of Diversity," *The New Republic*, October 17, 1949, 26–29; Boas, "Religion and the Intellectuals," *Partisan Review* 17 (May–June 1950): 464–466.
81. William F. Buckley, Jr., *God and Man at Yale* (Chicago, 1951), p. 215; Karl Shapiro, *The Bourgeois Poet* (New York, 1962), pp. 33–34; based on rereading the primary works and on whim (Preface), Boas, *Dominant Themes of Modern Philosophy: A History*, praised Lovejoy (p. 201) and revealed style even in a survey text; Boas, *A Primer for Critics* (Baltimore, 1937), demonstrated his talent for clarification.
82. Boas, "The Mona Lisa in the History of Taste," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1 (April 1940): 207–224, reprinted as Annex II to Boas, *Wingless Pegasus: A Handbook for Critics* (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 211–235; see also, Boas, "The Classification of the Arts and Criticism," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 5 (June 1947): 271; cf. Spitzer, "Poetry," p. 598, for rebuttal.
83. See Edward T. Cone, "The Miss Etta Cones, the Steins, and M'sieu Matisse: A Memoir," *The American Scholar* 42 (Summer 1973): 441–460, especially pp. 442, 458.
84. Editorial, *The News-Letter*, April 29, 1949; Boas, "The New Authoritarianism," *The Johns Hopkins Magazine* 3 (May 1952): 2–3, 27–32.
85. Telephone conversation with Professor Emeritus George Boas, Baltimore, March 21, 1972; Dr. Bowman did fully back Dr. Boas as Lovejoy's successor as chairman of the Philosophy Department: letter, Bowman, Baltimore, to Lovejoy, Cambridge, Mass., April 1, 1937, in Bowman Papers.
86. *The News-Letter*, May 13, 1949, announced plans of a "Living Buddha," Dilowa Hutukhtu, to visit the U.S. and stay with Lattimore at the Page School; Owen Lattimore, in a letter to Bowman March 15, 1949, referring to a *Time* story, feared Communist reprisals against the priest's associates; letter in Bowman Papers; see also, *The News-Letter*, interviews with Lattimore, January 21 and April 29, 1949; Lattimore, "The Chessboard of Power and Politics," *The Virginia Quarterly Review* 24 (Spring 1948): 174–186, for the text of his 1947 Hopkins Commencement address.
87. Zachariah Chafee, quoted in Lattimore, *Ordeal*, p. 146; see also, student's letter to him, quoted on p. 171.
88. The Baltimore *Sun*, May 17, 1950.
89. Lattimore, "The Citizen and Foreign Policy," first in the McCoy Evening Lecture Series, covered in *ibid.*, June 29, 1950.
90. Editorial, *The News-Letter*, January 14, 1949, re Seymour E. Harris, "Millions of BA's, But No Jobs," *New York Times Magazine*, January 2, 1949; [Holly Whyte], "Class of '49," *Fortune* (June 1949): 84 ff; editorial, *Life*, June 6, 1949: 48; Ben Herman, "The Class of 1950," *passim*; see also Goldman, *Crucial Decade*, p. 50.
91. [Whyte], "Class of '49," p. 168; C. Wright Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Class* (New York, 1953), pp. 265–272, traced some of the pragmatic pressures against undergraduate humanities training.
92. Robert Nisbet, *The Degradation of the Academic Dogma: The University in America, 1945–1970* (New York, 1971), pp. 80, 93–94, 115–125, 166–167, traced this development from 1950; J. H. Hexter, *The History Primer* (New York, 1971), Appendix, 221–224, deplored the rise of foundation support for behavioral sciences.
93. Detlev W. Bronk, Report of the President, *Hopkins Circular* 70 (1951): 4; news coverage in the Baltimore *Sun*, Editorial Page, October 22, 1951, and *Time*, March 5, 1951: 59–61.
94. See Report of the Faculty Committee on University Development [1950], mimeographed copy in File 1.6, President's Office (1903–1963), Johns Hopkins University Archives; see Conant, *The Citadel of Learning* (New Haven, 1956), p. 42, for other 1950 views on educating the gifted.
95. Bronk, Report of the President, *Hopkins Circular* 69 (1950): 8–9, in which he also paid tribute to the late Isaiah Bowman, 4–5; Provost P. Stewart Macauley, "Johns Hopkins: 1940–1950," *The Johns Hopkins Magazine* 1 (April 1950): 2–7, 32, described the growth (with emphasis on medicine and science) in the previous decade of war and peace.
96. For posthumous tribute to Ludwig Edelstein, who led the faculty against the "loyalty oath"

demand of the Regents of the University of California at Berkeley, see E. R. Dodds, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29 (July–September 1968): 453.

97. Christopher Rand, *Cambridge, USA; Hub of a New World* (New York, 1964), saw the complex through a Camelot lens.
98. Milton S. Eisenhower, Centennial Address, Centennial Proceedings, *Johns Hopkins Magazine* 26 (November 1975); see Clifton K. Yearley, Jr. (Class of 1950), "Men Not Buildings: A Study of The Johns Hopkins University and its Distinguished Homewood Alumni," Mimeographed, Department of History, The Johns Hopkins University, January 1953.
99. The Club's early history and membership roster are set forth in *The Book of The Tudor and Stuart Club* (Baltimore, 1923), a *Supplement* (Baltimore, 1938), and, esp., [J. Louis Kuethe and J. Paxton Davis, eds.], a twenty-fifth anniversary *Supplement* (Baltimore, December 31, 1948).
100. E[lise] H[ancock], "Not Quite the News," *The Johns Hopkins Magazine* 24 (July, 1973): 26; for further appreciation of the contributions of Professors Allen and Wasserman, see the lead article, *Johns Hopkins Journal* 8 (Fall, 1974): 1–2.
101. Conversations with Professor Earl Wasserman, Baltimore, June 4, 1971 and March 24, 1972; Professor Lloyd Davidson, Lexington, Virginia, February 2, 1973; in an otherwise critical essay, Spitzer spoke of "one virtue for which no praise is adequate—Wasserman's passionate desire *fully* to understand the poem:" Spitzer, "The 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' or Content vs. Metagrammar," in Spitzer, *Essays*, p. 97.
102. Conversations with Professor Wasserman, Baltimore; letter, Professor Earl R. Wasserman, Baltimore, to author, August 24, 1972; R[ichard]. M[acksey]., "In Memorium: Earl Reeves Wasserman," *MLN*, 87 (December 1973): 1013–1014; Wasserman, *The Finer Tone: Keats' Major Poems* (Baltimore, 1953); Wasserman, *Shelley: A Critical Reading* (Baltimore, 1971); "Bibliography of Books and Articles by Earl R. Wasserman," *ELH*, 41 (Fall 1974): 474–476.
103. Don Cameron Allen, "On Academic Enterprise: From a lecture tape-recorded by E. J. Thalerbaum," March 12, 1970, *The Johns Hopkins Magazine* 23 (Winter 1972): 17–22; D. C. Allen, "Not Unrequited," *The Yale Review* 34 (Summer 1945): 683; "Cantus Deo Mortuo," *The American Scholar* 18 (Winter 1948–1949): 31–32, reveal a religious skepticism he also investigated in *Doubt's Boundless Sea: Skepticism and Faith in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1964), see especially pp. ix–xi; for influence of his own poetry on his scholarly criticism, see esp. Allen, *The Harmonious Vision: Studies in Milton's Poetry*, Enlarged Edition (Baltimore, 1970), pp. 95–109; Spitzer, "American Humanist," p. 49: "The telephone of the organizer is the deadly enemy of the desk of the scholar."
104. Conversation with Professor Don Allen, Baltimore, June 4, 1971; for his sensitivity to youth, see Allen, *Image and Meaning: Metaphoric Traditions in Renaissance Poetry*, New Enlarged Edition (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 122–123.
105. Letter, Professor Don Cameron Allen, Baltimore, to author, June 26, 1972; Allen, "The Graduate Study of Modern Literature," *The Graduate Journal* 8 (1971): 437.

How Commodore Joshua Barney Outwitted the British at Norfolk

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN

BALTIMORE-BORN JOSHUA BARNEY, DUBBED THE "PRINCE OF PRIVATEERS and adventurers," had as colorful a career as any depicted in novel, film or television. This flamboyant sea dog, who fought for his country between the Revolution and the War of 1812, sandwiched between these conflicts a command in the French navy. During his action-packed life he is said to have engaged in 26 combats, all against the British, so fighting for the French was entirely in character. A collection of letters at Duke University Library sheds new light on Barney's daring ploy at Norfolk.

Lured by the spell of Chesapeake Bay, Barney had gone to sea in 1771 at the age of 12.[1] During the Revolution he performed many feats of naval prowess for the patriots. When not engaged by the fledgling American navy, he served aboard armed privateers, taking numerous prizes which netted him handsome returns. Twice he was captured by the British and exchanged. Taken a third time, he was imprisoned in England, but managed to escape. He finally reached home after an amazing odyssey.

The war over, Captain Barney was employed aboard his ship, *George Washington,* in carrying various U.S. government dispatches to Europe.

For a time he tried to adjust his sea legs to the prosaic life of a Baltimore merchant, but the business was unsuccessful. He became a member of the city's Board of Special Commissioners whose duties included implementing the building and repairing of streets and bridges. Barney found the board meetings exceedingly dull. President Washington appointed him the first clerk of the United States Court for the district of Maryland, but the office brought with it little remuneration. Barney had a wife and young family to support.

After several years ashore he became restless. In 1792 he sailed from Baltimore for St. Domingo aboard the *Sampson,* a vessel purchased by his business firm and loaded with flour and dry goods. On the return voyage he carried a cargo of molasses and sugar. Barney survived several perilous adventures to reap from his trading activities an enormous profit.

In 1793 hostilities erupted between France and Britain, and the latter claimed the right to search neutral vessels at sea. Barney was seized by British privateers and was held prisoner for a time on his own ship.

Reacting to flagrant violations of the rights of neutrals on the high seas, the U.S. Congress resolved to resuscitate the navy by placing six cruisers in commis-

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sion. Barney's name was placed fourth in order of seniority on the list of men to command these vessels. The appointment of Captain Silas Talbot as third on the list was resented by Barney who thought he took precedence over Talbot. His pride hurt, Barney declined the fourth appointment.

The *Cincinnatus,* the property of a Baltimore firm, was preparing to sail for France, and the owners requested Barney to captain the ship on its outward voyage. Accompanied by James Monroe, recently appointed U.S. Minister to France, Barney sailed from Baltimore in June 1794.

While in France Barney fitted out several privateers to send against British commerce. He also accepted an offer to join the French naval service. After receiving a rank equal to that of commodore in the United States service, Barney sailed from Rochefort with two fine frigates in May 1796. He hoisted his pennant aboard *La Harmonie,* a 44-gun vessel carrying a complement of 300 men. The second vessel, *La Railleuse,* mounted 36 guns. Together they took on two artillery companies and large quantities of arms, munitions and stores bound for St. Domingo. After a series of hair-raising experiences, Barney and his ships, much battered, reached their destination.[2]

By the autumn of 1796 St. Domingo was suffering from an acute shortage of foodstuffs. The island's currency was sugar, and as its cultivation was almost at a standstill due to the troubles stemming from the French Revolution, the island was poverty-striken.

St. Domingo's Commissioners appealed to Barney for help. Since one of his two ships had returned to France and the other was undergoing repairs, the Commissioners offered him the *Medusa* and *L'Insurgente* for an expedition to the United States where, it was hoped, he could arrange credit and find cargoes of food to ship to the destitute island. Barney was to act as agent in arranging contracts, and the Commissioners assured him that instead of losing money on the deal, he would eventually turn a neat profit.[3]

Despite the obvious unseaworthiness of the two frigates, Barney sailed at the beginning of December. The *Medusa,* an old ship, leaked so badly that her pumps had to be manned around the clock. *L'Insurgente,* mounting 44 guns and one of the fastest ships in the French navy when in condition, needed extensive repairs. Barney was lucky to reach Norfolk on the 19th without losing either ship.[4]

Norfolk's shipbuilding and ship repairing industry, so long prostrate, recovered rapidly after the outbreak of war in Europe. Old shipyards sprang to life, and every slip along the banks of the Elizabeth River and its tributaries again resounded with hammer and saw.[5] Commodore Barney ordered new rigging, new sails, new cables, and almost entirely new bottoms for his ships. He then hurried on to Baltimore for the first glimpse of his family in over two years.[6]

At No. 11 Charles Street Mrs. Barney and her young family lived very well, handsomely maintained by funds from the commodore's commercial and privateering adventures.

Barney set about obtaining contracts from Baltimore merchants for the food supplies needed in St. Domingo. By early January the first vessels were loaded and sent off, but the winter became so cold that no further ships could leave the ice-clogged port.

In March, as soon as the upper Chesapeake Bay was navigable, Barney took leave of his family and returned to Norfolk. His two frigates were still undergoing repairs, and since no funds were forthcoming from France, he paid for the ships' refitting from his own pocket. He also advanced to his 700 officers and men a portion of their wages, and paid for four months' supply of food for them. When the Baltimore merchants, leery of Barney's security, hesitated to fulfill their contracts for the remaining supplies for St. Domingo, Barney purchased more food at Norfolk, loaded it on vessels, and sent it off southward.

Meanwhile a British squadron waited in Hampton Roads to intercept Barney's two frigates whenever they should be ready to sail. The squadron, commanded by Vice-Admiral Vandeput aboard the 74-gun *Resolution*, posed a formidable threat. If it captured Barney's ships, which he had outfitted with his own money, there was little chance he would get any of it back.

The British squadron was anchored in Hampton Roads in violation of this nation's neutrality, but the Federalist U.S. Government, lacking military and naval forces, could do little except protest to both belligerents. The Federalists, in general, favored the British and were infuriated by Barney and his French frigates. How could this renegade dare to serve in the French navy when hostilities between the United States and France might erupt at any moment? On the other hand, the democratic Republicans, followers of Jefferson and Madison, favored their former French allies over the British and looked upon Barney as something of a hero. Among the latter was Daniel Bedinger, an agent in the Custom House at Norfolk.

Bedinger, an ardent Francophile, had run away from Shepherdstown, Va. (now West Va.) at the age of 15 to join the sharpshooting Virginia riflemen fighting under General Washington in 1776. Captured by the British at the fall of Fort Washington on the Hudson, young Daniel had been thrown into the Old Sugar House on Liberty Street, perhaps the worst of all the New York prisons. He nearly died from starvation and unsanitary conditions, and he never forgave his British captors.[7]

At Norfolk Bedinger met Barney, who also disliked the British. Both men were pleased by news of Napoleon Bonaparte's victories in Italy and Austria. Bedinger informed his brother at Shepherdstown on June 13, 1797: "When the last accounts of his successes arrived, the artillery company of this town turned out and fired a republican salute of 23 rounds, which was returned by the French Frigates under the command of Commodore Barney, whilst the countenances of the Tories exhibited evident marks of discomfort."[8]

Major Henry Bedinger, Daniel's brother at Shepherdstown, having been captured by the British at Fort Washington also, agreed with Daniel's politics. He advised Daniel that the district around Shepherdstown had become strongly Federalist in sympathy and that many persons there wished the British would capture Barney while he lay in the port of Norfolk. Replying, Daniel wondered how those people could consent to such a violation of their own neutrality and sovereignty. No doubt the British would have attempted to capture Barney before then had they thought it practicable. But Barney with his two armed frigates had Norfolk in his power. Indeed, all the British ships along the coast, aided by all the Tories in Norfolk, could not capture him nor prevent the two

forts from falling into his hands. For had Barney thought it expedient, his guns could have been trained on the town, and Norfolk would have been sacked and burned. "And yet," Daniel commented, "there are hearts beating in your neighborhood who would have risqued all this, merely to gratify their resentment against a man whose great crime is to fight under the flag of the French Republic."[9]

In the meantime Barney racked his brains for a way to dodge the British watchdogs. Daniel Bedinger wrote again to his brother on July 11: "Barney is still here and closely blockaded, for which I believe he is not very sorry since he is out of harm's way & at the same time renders the French essential service by occupying the attention of a British squadron of at least four times his own force."

Unable to get out of port, Barney enjoyed the hospitality of Norfolk's Republicans. Daniel Bedinger took him to visit U.S. Congressman Josiah Parker at the latter's estate in Isle of Wight Co., up the James River from Norfolk. Col. Parker, an anti-Federalist, was for a time chairman of the House of Representative's naval committee.[10]

The British squadron continued its vigil, so Barney wrote to Admiral Vandeput, although he expected little to come of his sporting offer.[11] He proposed to go to sea and pit his two frigates against any two of the British men-of-war, provided Vandeput pledged his honor to prevent the other vessels from entering the "trial of prowess."[12] Barney gave his letter to his new acquaintance, Col. Josiah Parker, who handed it to the British consul at Norfolk, Col. John Hamilton, a Loyalist officer during the Revolution. Col. Hamilton forwarded the message to the admiral who did not reply. Barney decided the time for action had arrived.

Daniel Bedinger wrote again to his brother on August 22nd: "There have been 8 or 10 British ships of war cruising off the mouth of the Chesapeake for some months past in order to prevent the sailing of Commodore Barney who, notwithstanding, went to sea on Sunday last, and has (we have every reason to think) given them the slip."

Two days after Bedinger sent this news to Shepherdstown he received a letter from Barney saying he had managed to elude the British.[13] The commodore's plan of escape was a bold one. He had sailed out of Norfolk in broad daylight, and when the British noticed him dropping down the Elizabeth River, they retired before him. By heading to sea first the British avoided breaking the neutrality regulations

Barney sailed to Cape Henry and anchored inside, while the British vessels hovered in the offing. At this point Barney executed one of his most brilliant feats of seamanship. When dusk fell he sent his pilot boat ahead, as if to lead the way, and he followed slowly. As soon as it was dark, he pulled off a magnificent trick. He put about, headed up the Chesapeake, and hid behind a point of the Eastern Shore.[14]

Dawn broke. The British, upon discovering their quarry flown, imagined he had slipped through their cordon in the darkness. They headed out to sea after him, and when Barney's pilot boat reported their departure, the commodore coolly sailed his frigates out between Cape Charles and Cape Henry without interference.

By the end of October Daniel Bedinger had received news that Barney reached his destination, St. Domingo. On the voyage Barney spoke to a number of American vessels, but did not molest or detain any of them. "Indeed," Bedinger informed his brother, "I am well assured, notwithstanding all the falsehoods that have lately been put in circulation, that should an open war take place he will never fight against either France or America, but will immediately quit the service of the former and retire to some neutral European country until the dispute shall be ended."[15]

During the War of 1812 Commodore Barney again had the opportunity of fighting against his old enemy, on the side of the United States. Commanding a private armed ship, the schooner *Rossie*, bought and outfitted by some Baltimore merchants, he took British prizes reportedly worth well over a million dollars.

In July 1814 he was assigned the task of preventing the British forces from entering the Patuxent. After holding off the enemy for several weeks, he was ordered to land his sailors and marines and march them to the defense of Washington. At the Battle of Bladensburg, where he directed the artillery—his ships' guns mounted on carriages—Barney was wounded by a musket ball in his thigh. The American defenders, hopelessly outnumbered, gave way before the enemy. When the British sailed up the Chesapeake to attack Baltimore, Barney had to remain at home recuperating from his ordeal.

After his death in 1818, the City of Baltimore authorized Rembrandt Peale to paint a portrait of its "late gallant and distinguished fellow citizen, Commodore Joshua Barney." His service in the French navy was no longer held against him.

References

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2. Footner, p. 212.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
4. Paine, p. 316.
5. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Norfolk* (Durham, N.C., 1931), p. 94.
6. Footner, p. 218; Paine, p. 319.
7. Danske Dandridge, *George Michael Bedinger* (Charlottesville, 1909) p. 25; *Historic Shepherdstown* (Charlottesville, 1910) p. 166.
8. Daniel Bedinger to Henry Bedinger, June 13, 1797, Danske B. Dandridge Papers, Duke University Library [hereafter cited DUL].
9. Daniel Bedinger, Norfolk, to Henry Bedinger, Sept. 12, 1797, Dandridge Papers, DUL.
10. Parker was a close friend of Daniel Bedinger's father-in-law, U.S. Congressman Robert Rutherford of Virginia.
11. Footner, *Sailor of Fortune,* p. 220.
12. Paine, *Barney,* p. 321.
13. Daniel Bedinger to Henry Bedinger, Aug. 29, 1797, Dandridge Papers, DUL.
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The Formative Years of Maryland's First Black Postsecondary School

MARTHA S. PUTNEY

ON APRIL 8, 1908, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND APPROVED AN ACT accepting the offer of the Trustees of the Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers to donate to the state their assets on the condition that the state in turn maintain a permanent normal school for the training of black teachers. Accordingly, the General Assembly directed the State Board of Education to establish under its control in Baltimore, or wherever else it deemed best, such a school and to prescribe its curriculum which in addition to other subjects had to "include courses for the special preparation of instructors for teaching the elements of agricultural and mechanical arts." In voting an annual $5,000 appropriation for the support of this school, the legislature justified its action on the ground that the money which it had spent over the years in educating black children to fit "them for the work and responsibilities of citizens" had "not met with entire success, largely because of the inability of the school authorities of the State to secure the services of a sufficient number of trained and competent colored teachers."[1]

Steps taken in pursuant to this legislation led, in time, to the emergence of Maryland's first black state postsecondary school, Bowie Normal School, the progenitor of present-day Bowie State College. Little has appeared in secondary sources on the early history of this institution under state auspices. Oscar James Chapman's unpublished master's thesis entitled "A Brief History of Bowie Normal School for Colored Students" suffers because of its lack of depth, inadequate research, and some errors. Additionally, the thrust of Chapman's work, despite the title, is that of a study designed for recommending improvements in the professional program.[2] The books and articles which treat Maryland postsecondary educational and teacher training schools contain only fragmentary comments on this early period in the history of Bowie State College. This account is based on an examination of the minutes and annual reports of the State Board of Education, the journals of the state legislature, the reports of the state study commissions, the minutes of the Trustees of the Baltimore Normal School, accounts in contemporary newspapers, and other pertinent data.

The purpose of this article is to relate the state takeover and management of this black institution during the first six formative years of its public existence. During this period the State Board of Education formulated and implemented a program at this black school which differed significantly from the school's

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previous curriculum and from the curriculum of the two white normal schools under the board's jurisdiction; the state actively encouraged the county school officials to include the distinctive features of this black school's program in the curriculum of all of the black public schools in the counties; and, more importantly, without a plea of poverty, the state by denying adequate funding for accommodations and facilities effectively limited the number of blacks who had access to this teacher training program.

Since 1866 the founders of the Baltimore Normal School and their successors, who had incorporated as the Trustees of the Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers, had tried to persuade state authorities to establish a training facility for black teachers as an obligation which it owed to its black citizens. On November 14, 1907, these trustees, faced with a shortage of funds and more convinced than ever that the state not only needed but also should provide a black facility, voted unanimously to send a delegation to the State Board of Education to present their proposal. The delegation, which consisted of the president of the board of trustees and then librarian of Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, the secretary-treasurer of the board F. Henry Boggs, long-time trustee John M. Carter, and Charles H. Stanley, found a receptive audience. State Superintendent of Public Education Dr. M. Bates Stephens, the president of the Prince George's County school board, and others told the state board "that a training school for colored teachers was at present the greatest need of the colored schools of the state." Whereupon, the board voted to refer the proposal to a committee for study.[3]

The press apprised of the proposal by the trustees of the Baltimore Normal School, urged the state to accept the offer. *The Baltimore American* in an article entitled "Colored School Is Offered State" noted Steiner's statement that it was time for the state to take over this work and that the school was "flourishing." *The Baltimore Sun's* subtitle of an article was: "Only Condition Is That The Work Be Carried On As At Present - Property Valued at $28,000." In this article, the reporter stated that it was Steiner's "opinion that the State needs more and better trained colored teachers as instructors in schools for negroes in the city and State" and that this "offer is an opportunity to acquire the nucleus" for a black public teacher training facility. In commenting on an interview with Steiner, a writer for *The Baltimore News* concluded that Steiner presented "a strong argument for the proposition." In this interview, which was carried under the caption of the "State Should Take It," Steiner pointed out that "the State Superintendent of Education and the county school superintendents complain bitterly of their inability to obtain efficient colored teachers." He explained that inadequate financial resources and the lack of full state funding had hampered the school's growth. He extolled the quality of instruction at the school and stated that almost all of its graduates had met the State Board of Education's requirements for first-class teaching certificates.[4]

On January 9, 1908, after a study of the proposal, Superintendent Stephens advised the board to recommend to the legislature the adoption of a plan to train black teachers. He argued that "no substantial progress can be made in these [black public] schools until we provide a training along industrial lines." He felt

that the cost to the state for a black teacher training facility would be minimal and suggested that the federal land-grant allotment which the state had contracted to the Methodist-controlled Morgan College's industrial branch, black Princess Anne Academy, be re-directed to this school. Further, Stephens said that private foundations might provide aid if the state established an efficient school. After a discussion, the board endorsed the proposal.[5]

Following passage of the law, the board concurred with Stephen's recommendation that the school's city property be sold and land be purchased for its relocation as soon as possible. Also, the board decided that "the industrial feature should form an important part of the work" of this school whereas the law itself merely required the inclusion of courses of this nature. By 1910 the board had designed for this school an educational program based on instruction in elementary subjects up to the level of the eighth grade. The plan called for the training of females in the household sciences and of males in manual and mechanical skills. The board announced that "no attempt will be made to teach advanced classes." It was explained that:

> This is said to be in line with the desires of the leaders of the colored race, who have asked that the youth of their race be given the foundation of an education, and they will see that those who are suited for professional courses will be given an opportunity to pursue them.[6]

Since the school's former trustees had reorganized its course of study in 1893 to conform to the model of the white state normal school in Baltimore, this meant that the board had moved to impose on the black school a curriculum distinctly different from that which it required of the two white normal schools under its charge. The change was so significant that when the new curriculum was implemented, the graduates of the black school, who since 1893 had received from the board the same first-class teaching certificates as those given to the graduates of the two white normal schools, were no longer eligible for this first rank certification. It was not until 1923, when the board authorized the school to re-institute the standard normal course of study, that the institution became again a bona fide postsecondary facility, and two years later its graduates became eligible for first-class certification.[7] The State Board of Education's implementation of the 1908 law was a backward step for black education in Maryland.

The board's Colored Normal School Committee headed by Rufus K. Wood began the search for a site for the school shortly after passage of the 1908 act. They confined this search exclusively to the rural farm areas. At one point, when Wood indicated his committee's unreadiness to make a recommendation after having seen several pieces of property in Prince George's County in southern Maryland, the board directed the committee to study the feasibility of a merger of the school with Princess Anne Agricultural School. Also, the committee extended its search to Montgomery County, a jurisdiction adjoining and northwest of Prince George's. By August 1909, the board, responding to a report of its Colored Normal School Committee which was then chaired by Colonel William S. Powell, contracted to purchase the 238-acre Fairview Farm in Montgomery County, near the Prince George's County line. But, before the land survey on this

property had been completed, some people in Montgomery County raised widespread protest by letter, by delegation, and by a petition movement against the "location of a negro school in their midst." The organizers of the petition movement filed a document containing 150 signatures with state authorities. Some of the complainants spoke of the depreciation of property values in the area if the school were located there.[8]

Consequently, after a lengthy discussion on the matter on August 27, 1909, the board decided to abandon Fairview Farm if state Senator Blair Lee, "as the representative of the Montgomery County people," would assume the obligations of the purchase contract and the cost of the land survey and the title search. Some two months later, Blair Lee sold the property. The committee, then, renewed its search. Finally, in June 1910, the board purchased a 187-acre tract of land bearing the patent name of Jericho Park, near Bowie, in Prince George's County for $5,000 and proceeded at once to sign a contract for $15,470 for the construction of a building.[9]

In the meantime, the board had re-hired for one year Dr. George Harrison, the white principal, and Hampton graduates Maggie G. Taylor and Carrie B. Taylor, the two black assistant teachers, to continue classes at the old location at Saratoga and Courtland Streets in Baltimore. Some forty-six students had enrolled by October 7, 1908, and Rufus Wood, who had visited the school on several occasions, reported that he was "especially pleased with the teaching force." Some months later, when apprised that the former trustees of the school had given honoraria of $1,000 to Harrison and $100 each to the Taylors "after the control of the institution had passed to the State Board of Education, out of funds that were named among the assets of the institution, when the Board was induced to accept" the school, the board wanted an explanation. When John M. Carter, a former trustee, replied that the teachers were rewarded because of their long tenure "at a very low salary," the board still felt that under the circumstances the gifts were "entirely without warrant." The board re-appointed Harrison and Carrie B. Taylor for a nine-month period for the academic year 1909-10 since it had abandoned the Fairview Farm location, since it had withdrawn the Saratoga Street property from sale because of low bids, and since some old students had applied for re-entry. Harrison's salary was set at $100 per month and Taylor's at $37.50 per month. This was to be their terminal year under board contract. Some forty-two students enrolled during this year.[10]

With the approval of the board, Col. Powell sold the Saratoga Street property for $10,000 and rented a room in Baltimore for the instruction of the forthcoming senior class only for the 1910-11 academic year. On Powell's recommendation, the board employed John Thomas Williams, who was to become the vice principal of the relocated school, to teach this senior class at a salary of fifty dollars per month for ten months; this was one-half of the monthly salary of his white predecessor. On June 16, 1911, the five graduates of this class along with members of the board and friends journeyed by train from Baltimore to Bowie to participate in the formal dedication of the new school and the commencement of the last graduates of the old school—a symbolic joining of the two. Many people, both black and white, attended this ceremony. The Reverend Louis S. Flagg of

Baltimore gave the invocation. Col. Powell, on behalf of the board and the state, gave an address and presented the keys of the building to the principal of the new school. Dr. Lewis of Western Maryland College and Harry S. Cummings of the Baltimore City Council also addressed the assembled group.[11]

Notwithstanding the circumstance that the state had maintained postsecondary educational facilities for whites since 1866 and had thereby been in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment from the time of its ratification, the question arises as to why at this particular time in history was the first effort made to establish a black state school. The language of the law with its pointed references to training blacks in the responsibilities of citizenship and in agricultural and mechanical arts provides a clue. This was the progressive period, and the reformers were a vocal part of the scenery. With the reform movement and its connotation of social justice, some black leaders had become vocal also. William Monroe Trotter and George Forbes had launched the militant newspaper, the *Boston Guardian,* in 1901, and four years later Robert S. Abbott began publication of the *Chicago Defender,* another militant paper, whose attacks on racism Southern style were one of its main features. Between these two events, there appeared William E. B. Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* which articulated the dichotomy of American society, black aspirations, racial injustices, second class citizenship, and the concept of education for a "talented tenth." In the latter instance, Du Bois called for the type of higher education which would enable gifted blacks to become leaders, teachers, and other professionals. In 1905, Du Bois and Trotter organized the supporters of their views into the Niagara Movement and called for full citizenship rights and equality for blacks.[12]

The countervailing force was the accommodationist policies of Booker T. Washington whose views had become increasingly acceptable to Southern and Northern whites after 1895. Washington's "Tuskegee plan" with its emphasis on agricultural and industrial skills and "boot-strap" philosophy, which he articulated in his autobiographical book, *Up From Slavery,* published in 1900, enhanced his standing among whites. His organization and leadership of the National Negro Business League in 1900 further re-inforced his public advocacy of accommodation in race relations. His breaking of bread with President Theodore Roosevelt in the White House, although criticized by many whites, did give the presidential seal of approval to his policies and programs.[13]

Washington's black industrial school concept had taken hold in the South. Black Marylanders and especially blacks in the port city of Baltimore had participated in petition movements and other organized protest activities to improve black schools. Hence, when the proposal was presented to the Board of Education and when it was aired in the press, it appears that expediency required its acceptance. The official rationale was expressed in the *Annual Report of the State Board of Education* for 1911 thusly:

> The best thought of the times inclines toward the conception, that now, and perhaps for many years to come agricultural and industrial training are plainly indicated for the negro by the situation itself. Teaching the negro boy and girl to love and live successfully the agricultural life and see its possibilities is tremendously important now, for the appallingly high death rate of negroes in the cities must be lessened if he is not ultimately to disappear from American life.[14]

In the new school, blacks would be taught the breeding and raising of livestock and the growing of crops, and, in time, those "fundamental industries" in which, in the view of white Marylanders, most of the blacks earned a living. These would include carpentry, painting, blacksmithing, plastering, papering, and shoemaking. But, the "many other trades taught in the great industrial schools for negroes may be important, but not proportionally so when the expense involved is to be considered." The females would be taught domestic science, sewing, and millinery work with the greatest stress placed on domestic science so "that they not only become better prepared to serve the people as teachers and in other vocations, but that they may be fitted to make the type of homes upon which the very existence of the race itself, to a great extent, depends."[15]

As noted above, the board in January 1908 linked its decision to recommend state control of the Baltimore Normal School with an assertion that industrial training was an indispensable condition for progress in the black public schools. Shortly thereafter, the board released a pamphlet in which it strongly advocated industrial and domestic education for the black children in the schools in the counties. Two years later, a state Commission on Industrial Education reported that this type of education was essential for improving and advancing the black race. Hence, Maryland officials set out to have every county in the state establish "colored industrial schools or schools where instruction shall be given daily in domestic science and . . . industrial arts." Those counties which complied with the substance of this 1910 law received an annual $1,500 state allotment. One half of the allotment was to support the cost of the program, and the other half was to be used to employ a county supervisor of black schools. The supervisor's duty was to insure that industrial education was taught daily in the black schools in the county.[16]

Since Prince George's County had not established a black industrial school or otherwise used the $1,500 appropriation, county and state officials in 1911 reached an agreement whereby the State Board of Education conducted a county black industrial school as a practice department of the Maryland Normal and Industrial School, which was now the official designation of the newly opened black school. Under this arrangement, the vice principal of this school, John Thomas Williams, doubled as supervisor of the black schools of Prince George's County. Although this was an additional duty for Williams and although the $1,500 state appropriation was credited to the account of the Maryland Normal and Industrial School, William's annual salary for his combined duties was much less than the stipulated $750. Also, before the end of the year of 1911, the state board with county approval had placed the black public school in Bowie under the control of the black normal and industrial school. The board assumed the responsibility for maintaining this school, and initially the students in the primary grades were taught in the county school building while those in the higher grades were instructed on the campus of the state school. In this way the state school had a model training center.[17]

Four months before the opening of the Maryland Normal and Industrial School at Bowie, the board appointed Don Speed Smith Goodloe as principal. Goodloe, who was then serving as vice principal at the Manassas (Virginia) Industrial School, had attended Berea College in Kentucky and Meadville Theological

School in Pennsylvania. He was graduated from Allegheny College in Meadville with a B. A. degree in 1906. Goodloe remained a teaching principal at Bowie until 1921. He was employed under a joint contract with his wife, Fannie Lee Carey Goodloe, who held a B. A. degree and served as the matron and music teacher; their combined annual salary for the first year was $1,000. In addition to his duties as principal and teacher, Goodloe boarded the students under an arrangement where by he received a state monthly allowance of $7.50 per person plus whatever foodstuff was produced on the farm. Four other persons were on the faculty for this first year at Bowie.[18]

On a visit to the campus prior to his assumption of duties, Goodloe expressed general satisfaction with the facilities. He did advise against housing the females and males in the same building, and, accordingly, the board had the farm barn converted into a combined male dormitory and workshop at a cost of $1,166. Concerned about the prospect that too few applicants would seek admission during the first year, Goodloe suggested that a special inducement be offered to attract students. About one month before the scheduled opening of the school, Goodloe, with board authorization, personally made trips into the counties to recruit prospective students. He was able to offer forty students a remission of one-third of their monthly boarding fee in return for comparable hours of extra labor. One basic requirement for admission was that each student donate one hour of free labor daily. In addition, enrollees had to be at least fifteen years of age and had to have completed the sixth grade. Tuition was free, but each student paid $9.50 per month for accommodations.[19]

The school at Bowie opened officially on September 25, 1911. By October 15, fifty students had enrolled—a number which Goodloe felt was "about the capacity of the school for the proper accommodations of the students." The black response to the school was enthusiastic. More students applied for admission during the second year of operation than could be housed; Goodloe not only had to refuse admission to some, but also had to issue a public statement to dissuade others from applying. The total enrollment for academic year 1911–12 was fifty-eight. Sixty-two students enrolled during 1912–13 and ten more the following year. Over the same period, fifteen students were graduated. Seven of these finished in June of 1912 and represented the first graduates of the Maryland Normal and Industrial School.[20]

The three-year program of course listings included such subjects as the history of education, psychologic foundations of education, pedagogy, school management, practice teaching, and methods of elementary education. In referring to those who had completed this program, Goodloe in his report to the board dated December 30, 1916 stated:

> It is very pleasant to be able to say that our graduates have no difficulty in securing positions and filling them competently. It may interest the friends of the school to know that one county, through its supervisor, has asked already for all students graduating in the Class of 1917. They receive their training under conditions which make the transition from students here to teacher in the rural school a normal and easy process and they are undoubtedly happier in their work than is possible for many of our city-bred and city-trained teachers.[21]

Col. Powell, in a visit to the school about three months after its opening, had found the academic work "going well," and he was especially pleased with the quality of the farm work. About a year later, the entire membership of the board Committee on the Maryland Normal and Industrial School visited the campus and observed the students doing very satisfactory academic work and participating "cheerfully in their part of the industrial work." The committee did note the over-crowded conditions in the dormitories and the absence of facilities for the personal effects of the students. But, the board admitted that it could not remedy this situation because of the inadequacy of appropriated funds. An assessment by the United States Office of Education was more critical. This agency's report, which was based on a visit made in November 1914, concluded that the state, by not providing more dormitories to support a larger enrollment, was not getting in return the full benefit of its investment. In addition, the federal observers found that the male students spent a disproportionate amount of their time in farm labor which had little educational value, and the observers felt that the other manual work likewise lacked pedagogical orientation. Further, these observers deprecated the separation of boarding and farm operations from the other administrative functions and recommended that the income from the former be used to help fund the school.[22] In effect, the Office of Education found that the students were doing the maintenance work required for the routine operation of the school. They were engaged in growing foodstuffs, taking care of live-stock, cooking, laundering, cutting wood for fuel, and doing other janitorial and housekeeping chores. The only service employee on the payroll throughout this period was one farm overseer.

Responding to some of this criticism, the board devised new accounting and fiscal procedures and acknowledged that more stress should be placed on physical science, domestic science, and teaching. The annual appropriated funds for operating expenses remained at $5,000 for the first four years of state ownership. For 1913 and 1914, the legislature allocated $5,666.66 and $7,000 respectively for operating costs. After the initial outlay for the purchase of land and for construction, no additional capital improvement funds were authorized until 1914 when the General Assembly voted money for final payments on the existing building and renovations.[23]

The board had tried to obtain funds and assistance for the school from other sources. It had endorsed the transfer of the federal land-grant allotment from black Morgan College's industrial branch of Princess Anne Academy to the Maryland Normal and Industrial School over the objection of Dr. James O. Spencer, the white president of Morgan College, who was serving simultaneously on the board. The black community was split on the issue and each faction sent a delegation to the board and to the state legislature to press its respective case. Both the board and members of the legislature reluctantly agreed that the opponents of the change had a better case, and the bill pending in the General Assembly to make the black state school at Bowie the recipient of the grant was withdrawn. Also, the board failed in its efforts to interest the trustees of the Peabody Fund in supporting some of the construction costs of buildings and to involve the United States Department of Agriculture in underwriting curricular

agricultural demonstration projects. On the other hand, it leased to the state Board of Forestry twenty acres of the Bowie campus farm for thirty years for experiments in forestation under an agreement whereby any profits issuing therefrom would be shared equally by the Board of Forestry and the Board of Education. But, apparently, no profits were realized during this period since the financial statements of the board do not show an entry for this item.[24]

These unsuccessful efforts to obtain funds from other sources did not absolve the state from its responsibility to provide for the school consistent with its means. But, the state was niggardly in its support. Goodloe had requested a sewing machine and a piano in 1911. The board supplied him with the machine immediately; but, it advanced him only fifty dollars towards the purchase price of the piano, and this only on the condition that the instrument would become state property when the full cost was paid (apparently out of Goodloe's own resources) or that the fifty dollars would be returned to the state if the bill were not paid. The board took this position despite the circumstance that music was an integral part of the curriculum and Mrs. Goodloe's contractual duties included the teaching of music. Yet, the state continued to make available modest sums for farm supplies, farm equipment, and live stock. On the other hand, in 1912 the legislature authorized $600,000 for the purchase of land with the improvements thereon for the relocation of the white normal school in Baltimore, and in the next session it approved a large capital construction fund for buildings for this school. This white normal school at Towson, Maryland, was so well provided for that the authors of a 1914–15 General Education Board-sponsored study declared that its "facilities are perhaps not surpassed anywhere." At the very same time, Goodloe was saying in his annual report that "the dormitory quarters prepared for the boys last January have been filled, and several young men have been sent back to the old farmhouse." Speaking of the situation three years later, Goodloe said: "In fact the school, with its present facilities, ought not attempt to accommodate more." The enrollment was then sixty.[25]

The school under state auspices had begun. In time, it would become in fact as well as in name a postsecondary educational institution. W. Lee Carey, who was aware that a similar measure had died in committee during the previous session and who worked hard to win legislative approval of the act of 1908, was thanked for his efforts by both the trustees of the old normal school and by the state board. Col. Powell's involvement with the school was very adequately described by his colleagues on the board on the occasion of his retirement from that body, when they said:

> Particularly, we think, his latest service on the Board, as Chairman of the Committee in charge of the Colored Normal and Industrial School, recently established at Jericho Park, Prince George's County, deserves emphatic recognition. In all the labor and time required in selecting a site, purchasing a farm, stocking it and providing for its profitable cultivation: erecting the large building for the school, organizing a new curriculum, choosing a new faculty and opening the first year of this institution, Col. Powell held the first place in active and sympathetic labor. His service to the State and to the Colored people, in this connection, has been of a very high character, and his associates cheerfully give it their hearty recognition.[26]

Some forty-two years after having provided public postsecondary facilities for its white citizens, Maryland officials, acknowledging a long-standing need for trained black teachers to man the county schools, took over a fully operational black normal school, their first venture in black postsecondary education. In accord with its conception of what was best for blacks, the board of education down-graded the curriculum of this school by replacing its standard normal school course of study with one which denied the school's graduates a first-class rating. Although board members voiced satisfaction with the quality of the work of the students, the United States Office of Education seriously questioned the educational value of the program. Also, by offering monetary inducements to the counties to require agricultural and manual training for blacks, the state sought to link the program of the black public schools to the type of education provided by its teaching training facility. This, like the removal of the school from Baltimore, a black population center, to an isolated farm area in Prince George's County, ran counter to what was happening in a nation which was becoming increasingly industrialized and urbanized.

The policy decision to run the Normal and Industrial School at Bowie at minimal cost to the state was premised in part on what proved to be the incorrect notions that state authorities would re-direct the federal land-grant allotment to this school and could involve the federal government and private foundation agencies in supporting the institution's curricular programs and capital construction projects. Additionally, it was premised on the state's unwillingness to provide adequate funding for the housing and the training of the students. This unwillingness was reflected in a number of ways including the requirement of free daily labor from the students thereby relieving the state of the cost of maintaining custodial and housekeeping services, the multiple job assignments of the principal and vice principal at less than equitable pay, the absence of facilities for storing the effects of the students, and accommodations so inadequate that not all eligible blacks who desired this training had access to it. At the very same time, the state was providing generously for its white normal school at Towson. The problem of access for all Marylanders to equal educational and employment opportunities in public postsecondary schools is rooted in this past.

References

1. *Laws of Maryland,* Article 77, Chapter 599, sections 189 and 190. The assets of the normal school included an interest-bearing $2,600 fund, $1,590.80 savings account, and a fully equipped school building (Baltimore Normal School Cash Book, Record Group 94, folio 239, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.; and Journal of Proceedings of the Maryland State Board of Education, December 5, 1907, folio 133, Maryland State Department of Education, Baltimore, Md. [hereafter cited as Proceedings]). For an account of the founding of this black normal school, see Martha S. Putney, "The Baltimore Normal School for the Education of Colored Teachers: Its Founders and Its Founding," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 72 (Summer 1977): 238–52.
2. Oscar James Chapman's unpublished master's thesis entitled "A Brief History of Bowie Normal School for Colored Students" (University of Michigan, 1936) and fragmentary comments in other secondary writings inadequately treat the early history of this school, which was a forerunner of Bowie State College.
3. Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of Colored People, *Third Annual Report* (Baltimore: John W. Woods, 1868), p. 5; Minutes of the Trustees of Baltimore Normal School, November 14, 1907, folios 50–51, Record Group 95, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.; Maryland State Board of Education, Proceedings, December 5, 1907. As a result

of a petition movement sponsored by the trustees of the normal school and supported by blacks and whites, the state had contributed $2,000 annually since 1872 to this private black normal school (Minutes of the Trustees of Baltimore Normal School, January 16, 1872, folio 66; and undated clipping of an article from *Baltimore News* found among the Minutes of the Trustees of Baltimore Normal School).

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SIDELIGHTS

A Selected List of Recent Dissertations on Maryland History, 1970–1976

RICHARD J. COX

EVER SINCE THE ADVENT OF PROFESSIONAL HISTORY, THE FINEST studies on Maryland's past have emanated from graduate programs. For Maryland this commenced in the 1880s with Herbert Baxter Adams at Johns Hopkins University and his excellent series *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.* W. P. Trent accurately prophesied in 1892 "that the work Professor Herbert B. Adams is doing with his graduate classes is likely to be *the* most important factor in the future development of historical studies in the South [including Maryland]."[1] Hopkins and the later addition of the University of Maryland have continued to maintain the dissertation as the vital force in Maryland historiography.

The purposes of this bibliography are to update Richard R. Duncan and Dorothy M. Brown, comps., *Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Maryland History* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1970) and to supplement my own annual bibliographies of articles and books on Maryland history which have appeared in this journal;[2] henceforth, pertinent dissertations will be included in this annual compilation.

The 80 studies listed here represent the work of students at 30 different universities, led in quantity by the University of Maryland, George Washington University, and Johns Hopkins University.[3] Included in this bibliography are all recent dissertations produced in historical departments and a selected group of dissertations from the education programs of schools such as George Washington and Catholic Universities. Most of the latter dissertations are present-minded, usually based on surveys restricted to a recent year. Although many of these will certainly be of value for the future historian,[4] this list has been restricted to studies that are concerned with fuller periods of time (usually of at least a decade).

Several encouraging signs are evident in this bibliography. First, there is a vital interest in Maryland history based merely on the quantity of studies produced in the last six years. Second, a new interest is appearing on twentieth-century Maryland. And third, new areas are beginning to be explored; the number of dissertations concerning Baltimore City and the analysis of Patricia Ann McDonald on "Baltimore Women, 1870–1900" can both be considered recent innovations.

Richard J. Cox has been recently appointed Records Management Officer, Baltimore City Archives.

The bibliography is arranged according to subject. Since many dissertations relate to more than one area, each has been numbered and cross-referenced. For those also interested in periods of history the following list (utilizing the time periods employed by the American Historical Association's *Recently Published Articles*) is provided.

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF DISSERTATIONS

Period	*Dissertations*
Colonial (to 1763)	1, 2, 4, 7–8, 10–12, 14, 16, 31, 37, 49–52, 59, 67, 70, 73
Revolution and Confederation (1763–89)	1, 4, 8, 10, 13–17, 31, 37, 49, 52–53, 64–66, 70, 73
Early National Period to the Era of Jackson (1789–1828)	1, 4, 6, 8, 13, 15, 31, 49, 54, 56, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 73
Era of Jackson, Expansion, and Sectionalism (1828–61)	1, 3–4, 6, 15, 22, 29, 31, 49, 55, 58, 61–62, 68, 73
Civil War and Reconstruction (1861–77)	3–5, 22, 29, 31, 38, 47, 49, 55, 68
Industrialization and the Gilded Age (1865–96)	5, 9, 22, 31, 38, 47–49, 77–78, 80
Imperialism and Progressivism (1896–1917)	5, 9, 22, 25, 31, 38, 47–49, 57, 63, 71, 80
World War I to FDR (1917–32)	9, 22, 25, 31, 47–49, 57, 71
New Deal and World War II (1932–45)	9, 22, 25, 27, 31, 36, 47–49, 60, 74, 79
Since 1945	18–28, 30–36, 39–49, 72, 74–76, 79

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SIDELIGHTS

Women's Deeds in Women's Words: Manuscripts in the Maryland Historical Society

CYNTHIA HORSBURGH REQUARDT

THE MARYLAND STATE MOTTO "MANLY DEEDS, WOMANLY WORDS" CURRENTLY is the center of controversy because it implies men act while women speak. Actions, of course, have never been the sole preserve of men, but those actions deemed important by historians have. The actions of politics, of war, the stuff of traditional history, were indeed the actions of men. Women's deeds were seen as too routine for consideration by history. This view is changing as historians seek to rectify the one-sided view of our past. In this context the deeds of women take on new importance.

The first women's deeds studied were those that were most noticeable; those of unique women. As research into women's past becomes more sophisticated, however, scholars are looking more closely at the day-to-day activities of all women. The biographical studies of unique women that marked the first wave of women's history are being replaced by studies of experiences common to all women. Studies of the Susan B. Anthonys are giving way to research on female bonding and child rearing practices. Maryland had its share of "firsts" (Mary Katherine Goddard was the first woman postmaster in the colonies) and of women in unique occupations (Anna Ella Carroll allegedly advised Union army officers on military strategy). There were, however, far more women who pursued traditional occupations; women who accepted the restrictions of a "woman's sphere." A study of women's past is not complete if historians concentrate solely on feminists who rebelled against these restrictions. Equally revealing is the way the majority of women accepted and coped with the restrictions placed upon their lives.

What then were women's deeds and where is the record of them? The most accurate picture of what women actually did is painted with their own words, and Maryland women left a full record of their lives. They left their past in diaries, letters, scrapbooks, and journals like those listed in this bibliography. These records disclose fascinating insights into the way the majority of women ran their lives in the face of ever-present restrictions.

This bibliography emphasizes the activities common to most women while not

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ignoring the records of the unique. It is classified according to the work women were pursuing when they created these records. The most common of women's occupations is housekeeping. Collections under this heading include papers, usually diaries and letters, which describe the routine work involved in keeping house. Depending on whether the woman was a mother of six, a spinster aunt, or a young woman preparing for marriage, the records are diverse. Yet the common thread of this the most universal of women's work, caring for other's needs, brings a unity to these papers.

Insight into marriage and motherhood are often revealed in these housekeeping papers, but some collections dwell especially on these two specialized activities. These collections have been classified separately. Collections on marriage and motherhood usually contain wives' letters to women friends, letters between spouses, and mothers' letters of advice to their children.

Middle and upper class women had few opportunities for work outside the home except when it was an extension of their home duties. This included religious and welfare organizations in which women cared for the needs of others. These organizations played an increasingly important role in the lives of nineteenth-century women by exposing them to experiences outside the limits of their homes. The records of these organizations, religious societies, literary clubs, and social welfare agencies, indicate how women worked together for common goals.

Opportunities for remunerative work for middle class women were scarce. Two occupations, however, those of author and artist, had long been acceptable work for women. Accordingly the majority of women's papers relating to paid occupations are those of authors (historians, newspaper correspondents, novelists, and poets) and artists (musicians, painters, and sculptors).

Papers of women in less elite occupations are rare. These women had little leisure time or education and consequently left fewer records themselves. Records of factory or clerical workers, for example, are more likely to be found in the papers of agencies with which workers came into contact—such as the companies that employed them or the organizations that cared for their physical and spiritual needs. The same is true for women workers of an earlier period, slaves and indentured servants. Extant information on them is in the papers of planters who owned them or religious agencies that attempted to aid them.

Another way to study women's past is to understand the education they received. The experience is documented in students' exercise books and letters, teachers' diaries, and school administrators' records. Women also collected papers around unique or short-lived activities. These include journals kept during travels or papers about their work during wars.

This bibliography is by no means a complete listing of every paper relating to women in the Maryland Historical Society. It is intended to be a representative list and to serve as an introduction to women's deeds in their own words.

Each entry in the bibliography contains the manuscript collection's name, its identification number, biographical data about the women whose papers appear, and the size and content of those women's papers. In many cases the women's papers are only a part of a larger collection. No attempt has been made to give the size or scope of the papers not belonging to women.

ARTISTS

MS. 1780 Leonora Jackson Papers

Leonora Jackson (1878–1969); concert violinist.
The collection consists mainly of Jackson's diary/scrapbooks that detail her career (1890s–1906) as a concert violinist in the U.S. and Europe. The public notices (newspaper clippings, concert programs, and printed material) of her career are interspersed with her lengthy private comments.

MS. 2114 Florence Mackubin Diary

Florence Mackubin (1861–1918); portrait and miniature painter.
Mackubin's journal was kept on a trip to Europe 1885–86. She recorded her traveling and artistic activities including descriptions of scenes she painted and periods of study at Julius Rolshoven's studio.

MS. 2017.–2017.2 Grace Turnbull Papers

Grace Turnbull (1880–1976); sculptor.
The papers pertain to Turnbull's artistic career and include a list of sculptures by Turnbull; a scrapbook (1907–71) of reviews of her work; a few letters from fellow artists; and a typescript of her novel *The Uncovered Well.*

AUTHORS

M.S. 185 John Adams Aiken Papers

See *Motherhood*

MS. 147 Briggs-Stabler Papers

See *Housekeeping*

M.S. 1224 Anna Ella Carroll Papers

Anna Ella Carroll (1815–94); author, alleged military strategist. Carroll's papers include correspondence and reports. They relate to Calhoun and secession, her claim to planning the Union Army's Tennessee campaign, and her recollections of Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. Her correspondents included: Robert J. Breckinridge, Edward Everett, Millard Fillmore, Gov. Thomas Hicks, Reverdy Johnson, Charles Scott, William H. Seward, and Thurlow Weed.

MS. 196 Cradock and Walker Families Papers

Anna Ella Carroll (1815–94); author, alleged military strategist.
These papers include 10 manuscript articles by Carroll. The articles deal with the Civil War, Republicanism, Thomas A. Scott, and women's suffrage among other things.

MS. 2070 Blanche Smith Ferguson Collection

Blanche [Smith] Ferguson (m. 1917); author, poet.
Ferguson's papers are two of her notebooks with notes on her works "Golden Wedding," "Strolling Along," and "When You See William."

M.S. 563.2 Victoria Gittings Papers

Victoria Gittings (1879–1965); author.
Gittings' papers (ca. 1944, ca. 20 items) consist of her manuscript book and stories

about supernatural apparitions and letters to her concerning psychical phenomena.

MS. 407 Graves Family Papers

Ann Jane [Baker] Graves (m. 1831); poet.

The collection is largely the papers of Ann Jane Graves before her marriage. Her 3 letterbooks (1819–20) have letters to her girlfriends and her essays on missionaries and intemperance. Her diary (1824–40) recorded her thoughts, especially on religion, and there are 6 volumes (1819–60) of her poems, many dealing with friendship and women.

MS. 426 Maria Johns Hammond Papers

Maria Johns Hammond (1862–1949); poet.

Hammond's papers consist of 4 notebooks with copies of letters sent to Hammond between the 1890s and 1920s. The letters are largely from artists, authors, editors, and politicians discussing Hammond's poems and other interests.

MS. 1518 Florence R. Kahn Papers

Florence R. Kahn (1883–1964); playwright, poet.

Kahn's papers (1930–53) consist of 2 scrapbooks and ca. 50 loose clippings, letters, and printed material concerning her plays, poems, and work with the National League of American Pen Women. Included are two samples of her plays.

MS. 1100 Lillian Sue Keech Scrapbook

Lillian Sue Keech (d. 1942); poet.

The collection consists of a scrapbook (1921–28) with printed and manuscript poems by Keech.

MS. 1529 Litchfield Scrapbooks

Grace Denio Litchfield (1849–1944); poet, author.

The collection consists of 2 scrapbooks and a pictorial letter compiled for Litchfield by her girlfriends. The letter (1877) congratulated her on the publication of her first book. One scrapbook (1872) is a romantic tale about her future, and the other is a catalog of her childhood experiences.

MS. 2084 Lizette Woodworth Reese Collection

Lizette Woodworth Reese (1856–1935); poet.

The collection is 10 items (1891–1955) by or about Reese. There is a lecture about Reese, a copy of *A Quiet Road,* and letters from Reese to Francese [Litchfield] Turnbull.

MS. 1488 Ida S. Rost Papers

Ida Sophie Rost (1880–1966); nurse, poet.

Rost's papers (1928–57, ca. 60 items) largely pertain to her career as a poet in Baltimore. Included are copies of her poems and correspondence concerning their publication.

MS. 708 Scarborough Papers

Katherine Scarborough (1900–60); historian.

Scarborough's papers (ca. 1930–60, ca. 1000 items) consist of research notes and

drafts of her articles on Maryland and Virginia history. Included are many clippings of her articles in the Baltimore *Sun*.

MS. 1101 Turnbull Collection

Francese [Litchfield] Turnbull (1844–1927); novelist, poet.

The collection contains Turnbull's papers concerning her activities as a novelist, poet, and co-founder of the Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore. Included are correspondence and printed material (1887–1920s, 400 items) about the poetry lecture series she and her husband sponsored. There are also manuscripts of two of her books, *The Catholic Man* (1890) and *Val-Maria* (1893); her school compositions (1860–61, 10 items); letters and poems by her sister Grace Denio Litchfield; and papers of Francese's daughter, poet and translator, Eleanor Turnbull.

MS. 871 David Bailie Warden Papers

Eliza Parke Custis (1777–1832); Elizabeth [Patterson] Bonaparte (1785–1879), traveler.

The collection is largely the correspondence (1804–45) of Irish-born diplomat and scientific writer David Bailie Warden. Among his correspondents were Eliza Parke Custis and Elizabeth Bonaparte. Custis's numerous letters (1808–32) begin with an autobiography (1808, 31 pp.). She was well-known in political circles, and her letters advise and promote Warden. Bonaparte visited Europe often, and her letters (1815–45) described her travels. Other women authors and scholars who corresponded were: Frances Burney d'Arblay, Amelia Curran, Eliza H. M. Godefroy, Sidney Morgan, Matilda Witherington Tone, Helena Maria Williams, and Frances Wright.

MS. 1011 William Wirt Papers

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 988, 1181 Woman's Literary Club Records

See *Organizations*

EDUCATION

MS. 2245 Baltimore Academy of the Visitation Essay Book

Baltimore Academy of the Visitation (founded 1837); girls' school run by the Sisters of the Visitation.

This volume contains essays and poems written by 68 students at the Baltimore Academy of the Visitation from 1849–1851. Included are autobiographical sketches of 3 students.

V.F. Loosie Bronson Diary

Loosie Bronson (b. ca. 1867), student.

Bronson kept a diary during 1881 and in it recorded her schoolgirl activities in Baltimore including housework, lessons, prayer meetings, Sewing School, and Sunday School.

MS. 2004 Brune-Randall Collection

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 252 Anne Caroline Coleman Papers

Anne Caroline Coleman (1818–96); student.
Coleman's papers are letters (1830–33, 233 items) written to her by girlfriends while she was a student at Miss Mercer's Academy in West River, Maryland.

MS. 1511 Allen Bowie Davis Letters

See *Motherhood*

MS. 306 Done Notebooks

Rachel Anne [Kerr] Done (1814–92); resident of Snow Hill and Princess Anne, Somerset County, Maryland.
Rachel Done's one notebook (1864–87) contains history lessons she used to teach her children in 1864, and her autobiographical sketch (1887). She wrote of her childhood around Easton, Maryland, her education (1829–30) at Miss Mercer's Academy in West River, Maryland, an operation for breast cancer, and married life up to the death of her husband in 1856.

MS. 1051 Fayhey Notebook

Nellie Fayhey (dates unknown); student.
This notebook (1906) was kept by Fayhey while a student at the Academy of Mercy in Merion, Pennsylvania. It contains poems and essays by Fayhey on such topics as the dignity of women, Italian art, and Longfellow.

MS. 1157 Jean Boyd Fulton Diaries

Jean Boyd Fulton (b. 1860); teacher, Salisbury, Wicomico County, Maryland.
Fulton's 4 diaries span the years 1876 to 1880. In them she recorded her daily and social activities many of which revolved around her father's Protestant Church. There is some mention her school teaching in the area.

MS. 430 Mary Diana Harper Letters

Mary Diana Harper (1804–18); student.
The collection is the correspondence (1813–18, ca. 120 items) of Harper while she was at school with Mother Seton at St. Joseph's in Emmitsburg, Maryland and at a convent school in Poitiers, France. There are letters from Mary to her parents, Robert Goodloe and Catharine Carroll Harper. Also included are letters of advice on her education and health from her father and letters from her cousins, brother, and schoolfriends.

MS. 1304 Harper Letters

Elizabeth Ann [Bayley] Seton (1774–1821); teacher, founder of the Sisters of Charity.
These letters to Robert Goodloe Harper include 21 written by Mother Seton during the period 1814–20. Mother Seton was teaching Harper's daughters Mary Diana, Elizabeth Hyde, and Emily Louisa, and the letters discuss the girls' progress.

V.F. Leah Byrd Haynie Reminiscences

See *Marriage*

MS. 2103 Holy Cross Alumnae Association of St. Catherine's Normal Institute

Holy Cross Alumnae Association (organized 1900) of St. Catherine's Normal Institute; a Catholic girls' school in Baltimore run by the Sisters of the Holy Cross. The 3 volumes in this collection include the Association's minutes (1921–23) and two scrapbooks (1900–72) of clippings, programs, and memorabilia. Included is information on St. Catherine's Normal Institute, the Alumnae Association, the Maryland Chapter of the American Federation of Catholic Alumnae, and the Sisters of the Holy Cross.

MS. 513 King Account Book

Jane R. King (dates unknown); school mistress.
This volume is a receipt book (1840–44) for tuition and supplies money paid to Jane R. King for her school in Baltimore.

MS. 1740 Eliza Kingsworth Copybooks

Eliza Kingsworth (dates unknown); governess.
The collection consists of 13 school exercise books kept by Eliza Kingsworth while a school girl [in England] from 1824 until 1828. Most deal with English history, grammar, and geography. Kingsworth apparently used these while a governess for Eliza [Ridgely] White Buckler (1828–1894).

MS. 417, 1958 Misses Hall's Alumnae Association Records

Misses Hall's Alumnae Association (1912–47); alumnae association of a private girls' school in Baltimore.
The collection relates to the Association's incorporation, operation, and dissolution. Included are minutes (1912–44), correspondence (1930–40s, 200 items), lists of alumnae, and dues records. There is a brief history of the school (1863–1900), a scrapbook history of the Association, and some material on its main project, the maintenance of a dormitory for women art students.

MS. 1372 Mary Moale Papers

Mary [Winchester] Moale (1812–1889); student.
These papers are largely letters (1825–27, ca. 40 items) written to Moale by her parents George and Ann Winchester while she was in school in Baltimore.

MS. 190 Thomas John Morris Papers

Sarah [Cushing] Morris (m. 1867); Josephine Cushing Morris (dates unknown); residents of Baltimore.
Sarah C. Morris's papers contain letters (1860s, 100 items) from friends in Baltimore while she was away at school; letters (1898–1912, ca. 200 items) from daughter Josephine in Europe; and 7 diaries (1842–56, 1901–8) about life in Baltimore as a school girl and wife of a judge. Josephine's papers are incoming letters (1880–1955, ca. 200 items) from friends.

MS. 643 Patapsco Female Institute Records

Patapsco Female Institute (opened 1833, closed 1890); girls' school.
The records (1832–91, ca. 600 items) deal with the organization, management, and dissolution of the school, with little mention of educational policies. The records include trustee minutes, correspondence, and account books.

MS. 978.–878.3 William P. Preston Papers

See *Motherhood*

MS. 1885 Tacy Burges Norbury School Papers

Tacy Burges [Norbury] MacKenzie (m. 1823); student.

The collection consists of Norbury's daily class behavior record (1813–15) at Mr. Beardsley's Select School for Girls and her arithmetic exercise book (1819).

MS. 1068 Rowland-Harrison Papers

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 778 Stafford Exercise Books

Mary J. Stafford (dates unknown); student.

The collection contains a penmanship exercise book and a commonplace book with essays and poems copied or written by Mary J. Stafford from 1841 until 1844.

MS. 796 Stump-Forwood Exercise Books

Rachel [Stump] Forwood (1806–30); student.

The collection includes 7 school exercise books (1821–28) completed by Rachel Stump and her sister Kezia. The books contain arithmetic and penmanship exercises as well as some poetry and letters.

V.F. Mary Virginia E. Waller Diary

Mary Virginia E. Waller (dates unknown); teacher.

Waller's diary (1864, 1 vol.) records her activities teaching in Green Hill, Wicomico County, Maryland.

MS. 1011 William Wirt Papers

See *Housekeeping*

HOUSEKEEPING

MS. 142 Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte Papers

See *Travel*

MS. 1750 Boone Diaries

Sarah P. [Kennedy] Boone (1842–83); Agnes Boone (dates unknown); residents of Baltimore, Maryland.

The collection contains diaries and journals of Sarah P. Boone and her daughter Agnes. Sarah's diary (1865, 1 vol.) records her activities, especially with the Catholic Church, during the year before her marriage. Agnes' journals (1888–97, 9 vols.) were kept on trips to Europe, the Middle East, and the western United States.

MS. 1077, 1077.1 Phoebe George Bradford Diaries

Phoebe [George] Bradford (1794–1840); resident of Wilmington, Delaware.

Bradford was a conscientious diarist leaving 23 volumes for the years 1832–39. This collection is 2500 transcribed pages of her diary. She discussed her work with the Female Bible Society and the Female Hospitable Society of Wilmington, and her interest in religion, slavery, and U.S.-Mexican relations in the 1830s.

MS. 147 Briggs-Stabler Papers

Anna [Briggs] Bentley (1796–1890); Sarah [Briggs] Stabler (1801?–86); poet.
The collection includes correspondence (1790s–1860s, ca. 2000 items) among Isaac Briggs, his wife Hannah [Brooke] Briggs, and their daughters Anna [Briggs] Bentley and Sarah [Briggs] Stabler (?). The letters center around the family life in Sandy Spring, Montgomery County, Maryland, and there is much mention of their spiritual life. Anna B. Bentley's letters (1826–40s) describe her family's migration to New Lisbon, Ohio. Sarah B. Stabler was a Quaker poet, and supplementing her papers is an album of her poems in MS. 139.

MS. 2004 Brune-Randall Collection

Emily [Barton] Brune (1826–1908); Susan [Brune] Randall (1860–1937); Elizabeth [Randall] Slack; residents of Baltimore County, Maryland.
This extensive family correspondence (1782–1957, 97 boxes) covers 3 generations of a prominent Baltimore family. There is correspondence among Emily B. Brune, her daughter Susan, and Susan's daughter Elizabeth [Randall] Slack. The letters discuss the family's health, travel, education, and social and church activities. There are a few papers of Mary [Stewart] Minor, wife of a Protestant Episcopal missionary to Africa, 1824–42.

MS. 2113 Anna M. Carver Autobiography

Anna Mary [Murray] Carver (1845–1917); resident of Havre de Grace, Maryland.
Carver's autobiography is in the form of a diary highlighting the events of her life. She discussed her conversion to Methodism (1860), her marriage (1879), the death of her only child, her early widowhood, and her life with the families of her brother and sister.

MS. 285 Allen Bowie Davis Papers

Hester Ann [Wilkins] Davis (1809–88); Rebecca Dorsey Davis (1844–1921); residents of Montgomery County, Maryland; Minnie W. Bowie (dates unknown).
Hester Davis's papers (1830s–1870s) are diaries of her activities running the family home "Greenwood" and raising her children. Papers of her daughter Rebecca are letters (1850–1900) from friends, some relating to her work with the Episcopal Church, and a diary (1868). Minnie W. Bowie's papers (1930s) pertain to the Mother's Mission of Memorial Church (Baltimore) including annual reports and poems.

MS. 184 Dickinson Family Papers

Catherine [Willard] Dickinson (dates unknown); Laura Dickinson (1856–1934); residents of Trappe, Talbot County, Maryland.
Catherine W. Dickinson's papers are letters (1850s–1860s, 30 items) she wrote to her sister in Massachusetts concerning her life in Trappe. Papers of her daughter Laura include letters (1871–1924, 60 items), many of which are from her girlhood friend Alice Kemp (d. 1881) who wrote to Laura while Laura was away at school.

MS. 306 Done Notebooks

See *Education*

MS. 403 Thomas Marsh Forman Papers

Martha [Brown] Forman (d. 1864); resident of Cecil County, Maryland.
The collection includes a 5-volume diary (1814–54) detailing the daily activities of Mrs. Forman as mistress of a large plantation "Rose Hill" in Cecil County, Maryland. A typed transcript of the diary is in MS. 1779.

MS. 398 Gordon-Blackford Papers

See *Motherhood*

MS. 422 Guest Journal

Rebecca [Hall] Guest (b. ca. 1775); resident of Philadelphia and London.
The journal is a typed transcript of one kept by Rebecca Guest, a Quaker, while living in London from 1800 until 1810. The daily entries record her domestic and social activities.

MS. 431 Harper-Pennington Papers

Catharine [Carroll] Harper (1778–1861); Emily Louisa Harper (1812–92); residents of Baltimore, Maryland.
The collection is largely the incoming letters of Baltimore lawyer Robert Goodloe Harper. He received letters (1801–25) from his wife Catharine [Carroll] Harper about their children and her activities in Baltimore. There is some correspondence (1830s–1840s) of the Harper's daughter Emily Louisa in Paris and Newport, Rhode Island.

MS. 1585 Mrs. Benjamin G. Harris Diary

Martha Elizabeth [Harris] Harris (m. 1833); resident of Baltimore, Maryland.
The 20-volume diary kept by Martha Elizabeth Harris spans the years 1850 to 1891. The almost daily entries record her life in Baltimore as the wife of U.S. Representative Benjamin Gwinn Harris.

MS. 187 Edward Otis Hinkley Papers

Anna Maria [Mather] Keemlé (m. 1815); resident of Philadelphia; Anne [Keemlé] Hinkley (m. 1861); resident of Baltimore, Maryland.
The collection includes the correspondence of 2 generations of women. Anna Maria Keemlé's correspondence (1808–37, ca. 500 items) consists of letters she wrote describing life in Philadelphia and letters she received while away. Anne K. Hinkley's letters (1842–59, ca. 200 items) are letters to her from Baltimore while she was away.

MS. 1849 Hollingsworth Letters

Anna Maria Hollingsworth, Lydia E. Hollingsworth (dates unknown); residents of Baltimore, Maryland.
The collection consists of typed transcripts of 124 letters (1802–37). Most are written by Anna Maria Hollingsworth and her sister Lydia to their relatives, and they discuss the Hollingsworth's activities in Baltimore.

MS. 2043 Elizabeth Hunter Diaries

Elizabeth A. Hunter (m. 1922); resident of Baltimore, Maryland.
The diaries of Elizabeth A. Hunter span the years 1920–59 with some gaps. The

daily entries detail her activities as a resident of Roland Park and after 1922 as the wife of an army officer. There are journals of two trips to Europe she took with her first husband [Robert Clinton?] Cole in 1911 and 1913.

MS. 2001 Lloyd Family Papers

Sally Scott [Murray] Lloyd (1775–1854); resident of Talbot County, Maryland. The collection includes the extensive incoming letters (1818–54, ca. 800 items) of Sally Scott Lloyd. Her correspondents included her mother, sisters, daughters, and granddaughters all of whom discussed their activities on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. There are 16 letters (1836–43) from a woman running a Lloyd plantation in Madison County, Mississippi.

MS. 2248.1 Louisa G. Mason Diary

Louisa Gilmor Mason (dates unknown); resident of Baltimore, Maryland. Louisa G. Mason kept this one-volume diary during the years 1864 and 1865. In it she described her social activities in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Philadelphia.

MS. 190 Thomas John Morris Papers

See *Education*

MS. 1861 Margaret Smith Preston Diaries

Margaret [Smith] Preston (m. 1846); resident of Baltimore County, Maryland. Preston kept the 3 diaries in this collection during the years 1862–1864. In them she recorded her daily activities running the family estate "Pleasant Plains" near Baynesville, Maryland. She often mentioned the progress of the Civil War.

MS. 978–978.3 William P. Preston Papers

See *Motherhood*

MS. 1530, 1530.1 Redwood Collection

Anne [Hopkinson] Coale (1745–1817); Mary [Coale] Redwood (1861–1940); residents of Baltimore, Maryland.
Anne Coale's papers are largely correspondence (1770s–1860s, 700 items) among Coale, her daughters Mary A. W. [Coale] Proud and Eliza [Coale] Proud, and Eliza's husband John Greene Proud. The papers of Anne Coale's [grandniece?] Mary Redwood include incoming letters, especially relating to World War I, and notebooks about her son's military service.

MS. 1068 Rowland-Harrison Papers

Henrietta [Harrison] Rowland (1865–1950); resident of Baltimore, Maryland. The bulk of this collection is the incoming letters and invitations of Henrietta H. Rowland. Included are letters (1882–85, ca. 30 items) from her mother to Rowland while a student at St. Timothy's School in Catonsville. There are numerous calling cards and invitations.

MS. 2057 Ann Russell Memorandum Book

Ann Russell (ca. 1778–1830); resident of Green Hill, Cecil County, Maryland. This memorandum book covers the years 1822–30. The brief, daily entries record her activities running a household and caring for her mother.

MS. 2024 Sophia Towson Letters

Sophia [Bingham] Towson (m. 1816); resident of Washington, D.C.
The 36 letters (1822–43) in this collection are largely from Sophia Towson to her sister-in-law in Baltimore. Towson, the wife of army officer Nathan Towson, described her social activities and family's health in Washington, D.C.

MS. 2060 Troop Family Letters

Elizabeth [McKerlie] Troop (1797–1874); resident of Baltimore, Maryland.
These papers (1815–89, 49 items) revolve around the relationship which developed between Elizabeth Troop, a sea captain's widow, and her husband's family in Scotland.

MS. 760 Susanna Warfield Diaries

Susanna Warfield (1797–1890); resident of Sykesville, Maryland.
In her 5 diaries (1845–85) Warfield described her daily activities and work with the Episcopal Church. She also commented on Indians, natural history, politics, railroads, Roman Catholics, and slavery.

MS. 1011 William Wirt Papers

Elizabeth [Gamble] Wirt (1785–1857); author; Catharine [Wirt] Randall (b. ca. 1807).
This rich family correspondence (1784–1864, 8000 items) details family relations, child rearing, and education in a Southern, antebellum family. Much of William Wirt's correspondence was with his wife Elizabeth, author of gift books. She wrote of her activities and the children's. Wirt also advised his 5 daughters on their studies and manners while they wrote of their activities. These letters continued through the early years of their marriages with descriptions of housekeeping. The extensive family correspondence continued after William's death. There are ca. 700 letters (1835–64) that are mainly among Catharine Wirt Randall, her sisters, and mother.

MARRIAGE

MS. 2004 Brune-Randall Collection

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 398 Gordon-Blackford Papers

See *Motherhood*

MS. 431 Harper-Pennington Papers

See *Housekeeping*

V.F. Leah Byrd Haynie Reminiscences

Leah Byrd Haynie [1790s–1872]; resident of Somerset County, Maryland and Bayou Sara, Louisiana.
Haynie wrote her reminiscences of her life up to 1820 in 1837. She recorded her early education in Princess Anne, Maryland and at a Quaker school in Delaware, the long journey from Maryland to settle in Louisiana, and life in Louisiana up to 1820. She often digressed to record her thoughts on marriage and her decision to remain single.

MS. 476 Hutzler Papers

See *Travel*

MS. 2112 Mrs. Ray T. Lewis Diary

See *Travel*

MS. 2115 Claudia Old McKittrick

See *Travel*

MS. 1371 Moale Papers

Mary [Winchester] Moale (1812–89); resident of Baltimore, Maryland.
The collection is largely the incoming letters (1827–46, ca. 50 items) from Moale's husband William Armistead Moale and her [aunt ?] Mary Winchester.

MS. 1926 Jane Townsend Quigg Letters

Jane [Townsend] Quigg (fl. 1857–76); wife of Maryland Methodist circuit rider.
The collection consists of 35 letters (1857–76) written by Quigg to her friend Mary [Sipp] Orwig. She described her life as a circuit rider's wife including her bitter feelings toward the institution of marriage.

MS. 2064 Randall-Giddings-Clunas Letters

Elizabeth [Randall] Clunas (b. ca. 1830); resident of New Orleans.
These letters (1850–58, 23 items) are largely written by Clunas and deal with her life in New Orleans and her views on marriage. There are letters (1852–53) describing the mastectomy of her aunt.

MS. 715 Helen West Stewart Ridgely Papers

See *Motherhood*

MS. 1011 William Wirt Papers

See *Housekeeping*

MOTHERHOOD

MS. 185 John Adams Aiken Papers

M.E. Aiken (dates unknown); resident of Greenfield, Massachusetts; Kate Sanborn (1839–1917); author.
This collection is largely the incoming letters of John A. Aiken while at school. Among his most frequent correspondents were his mother M.E. Aiken and author Kate Sanborn. Mrs. Aiken's letters (1866–78, ca. 300 items) gave her son advice. Sanborn's letters (1870s–1880s, ca. 70 items) were brief and mentioned her work.

MS. 2004 Brune-Randall Collection

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 1511 Allen Bowie Davis Letters

Hester Ann [Wilkins] Davis (1809–88); resident of Montgomery County, Maryland.
This collection is largely the letters (178 items) of Hester Ann Davis and her children Rebecca and W. Wilkins Davis. There are Hester's letters (1850s–1860s) of advice to her children while they were away at school and Wilkins' letters to her and his sisters.

MS. 159 Buchanan Papers

Carolina Virginia Marylandia [Johnson] Buchanan Frye (m. 1807, 1817); resident of Washington, D.C.

Among the papers of Army officer Robert Christie Buchanan are letters (1830–53, 24 items) of advice from his mother C.V.M. Frye.

MS. 398 Gordon-Blackford Papers

Emily [Chapman] Gordon (d. 1852); Susan F. Gordon (1838–58); Rebecca [Gordon] Blackford (m. 1867); residents of Baltimore.

This collection of family correspondence spans two generations of a family in Virginia and Maryland with many letters of advice from parents and correspondence between spouses. The women's papers (ca. 1830–80) are largely those of Emily C. Gordon and her daughters Susan and Rebecca, but there are also letters of Emily's mother, her mother-in-law, and Rebecca's mother-in-law.

MS. 2001 Lloyd Family Papers

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 978–978.3 William P. Preston Papers

Margaret [Smith] Preston (m. 1846); resident of Baltimore County, Maryland; May [Preston] McNeal (1849–1913); resident of Baltimore, Maryland and Indianapolis, Indiana.

The collection contains the extensive correspondence (1830–1887, ca. 1500 items) of Margaret S. Preston. Her letters deal with her early life in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, her marriage to William P. Preston, and her subsequent life at the Preston estate "Pleasant Plains" near Baynesville, Maryland. Nearly one-third of these letters are those (1860–80s) between Margaret and her daughter May. May's letters cover her years (1860s) at St. Joseph's, a Catholic boarding school, the early years (1873–80) of her marriage in Baltimore, and her life in Indianapolis from 1881–1887. There are about 50 letters (1869–70) written by May while in Europe in MS. 711.

MS. 1530–1530.1 Redwood Collection

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 715 Helen West Stewart Ridgely Papers

Helen West [Stewart] Ridgely (1854–1929); social leader, Baltimore, Maryland.

Ridgely's papers consist largely of correspondence (1868–1919, ca. 500 items). They are from her mother and grandmother with advice on raising children, from her girlhood friends with families of their own, and from her husband. Some papers relate to her work in the Colonial Dames of America. Ridgely's diaries, scrapbooks, and writings are in MS. 716 Ridgely-Stewart Papers.

ORGANIZATIONS

MS. 36 Arundell Club Records

Arundell Club (1894–1952); women's civic and social club; Arundell Good Government Club (1896–1905); reform branch of former.

The Arundell Club records include minutes (1894–1910, 1949–52), financial rec-

ords, some correspondence, and membership lists. Only one volume (1898–1905) of the Arundell Good Government Club minutes has survived.

MS. 133 Helen D. Blake Diaries

Helen D. Blake (dates unknown); resident of Baltimore, Maryland.
Blake's four diaries (1922–1926) record her social activities during high school. Mentioned often are the activities of the Epworth League, the youth group of the Methodist Church. She described League conventions and training programs for Sunday school teachers.

MS. 1077–1077.1 Phoebe George Bradford Diaries

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 285 Allan Bowie Davis Papers

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 327 Electric Sewing Machine Society Minutes

Electric Sewing Machine Society (established 1891); trained women to use electric sewing machines to become self-supporting.
The collection is the first volume (1891–98) of the Society's directors' minutes. They discussed establishment of the program, provision of a nursery for trainees' children, the number of women trained, the trainees' success in becoming self-supporting, and their wages.

V.F. Female Bible Society of Annapolis Records

Female Bible Society of Annapolis (formed ca. 1821); auxiliary of American Bible Society, distributed Bibles and testaments.
The records (1829–32, 2 vols.) consist of the constitution, by-laws, financial records, and minutes.

MS. 372 Free Summer Excursion Society Records

Free Summer Excursion Society (incorp. 1875, dissolved 1960); private school welfare agency.
The records (1873–1960) of the Society include the directors' minutes, financial records, and scrapbooks of the Society's outings. The Society provided day excursions, with food and medical care, for poor Baltimore children and their mothers.

MS. 2044 Sidney Hollander Collection

This extensive collection of Sidney Hollander (1881–1972) papers details his social welfare and reform activities. Much of the collection is correspondence (1926–72, 76 boxes), and groups with which he corresponded included: the Planned Parenthood Association of Maryland and the Y.W.C.A. Women with whom he corresponded included Alice Cope, Marie Louise Friedenwald, Elisabeth Gilman, Eleanor Levy, Carolyn Lisburger, Caroline Ramsay, Evelyn Sherwin, Bessie C. Stern, and Elinor Ulman, among others.

MS. 2103 Holy Cross Alumnae Association of St. Catherine's Normal Institute

See *Education*

MS. 1791 Ingle Lodge for Girls Records

Ingle Lodge for Girls (1912–49?); boarding house for single working women in Washington, D.C.
The records (1912–49, 3 vols.) include residents' ages, home and work addresses, names of employers, and occupations. There is one volume of minutes (1920–48) of former residents' reunions.

MS. 2119 Edna Claiborne Latrobe Papers

Edna Claiborne Latrobe (d. 1949); inspector for the American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children.
Latrobe's papers pertain to her work as an inspector and her trip to Russia in 1926. Included are her report and her journal (116 pp.), which described her impression of post-revolutionary Russia, with some mention of her work.

MS. 1497 Leaken-Sioussat Papers

Annie Leakin Sioussat (1849–1942); historian, churchwoman.
Sioussat was active in the Woman's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Maryland Society of the Colonial Dames, the Maryland State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Arundell Club, and civil service reform. Her rich correspondence (1850–1941) contains material on all these activities. There are also presidential papers of the Women's Auxiliary (1900–30), the working papers of the Federation of Women's Clubs (1912–16), and the historian's reports for the Colonial Dames (1900–30).

MS. 571 Maryland State Colonization Society Records

Maryland State Colonization Society (1817–1902); organized to deport free Blacks. These records contain information on manumissions and emigrants. There are manumission books (1832–1860) listing name, age, by whom manumitted, form of manumission, date, and remarks about 5571 slaves. Also included is a list of emigrants.

MS. 417, 1958 Misses Hall's Alumnae Association Records

See *Education*

MS. 1892 National League of American Pen Women, Baltimore Branch Scrapbooks

National League of American Pen Women, Baltimore Branch (organized 1921); promotes creative and educational activities of women in art, letters, and music. The scrapbooks (1946–70, 14 vols.) of clippings and printed material detail the Baltimore Branch's annual activities. There are also minutes (1925–30).

MS. 715 Helen West Stewart Ridgely Papers

See *Motherhood*

MS. 693 Ridgely-Pue Papers

Rebecca [Dorsey] Ridgely (1740–1812); Methodist.
Ridgely's few extant papers deal with her religious life. They include a reminiscence (1786–98) of her conversion and subsequent religious life and four letters (1804–10) from Francis Asbury.

MS. 1745 Social Service Club of Maryland Minutes.

Social Service Club of Maryland (organized 1906); promoted unity in Baltimore philanthropic work.
The collection consists of minutes (1907–10, 1 vol.) and membership lists. Women active in the Club included Aimee Guggenheimer, Ellen N. LaMotte, Lucy R. Friday, Mary Sherwood, and Lilian Welsh.

MS. 805 United Daughters of the Confederacy Scrapbooks

United Daughters of the Confederacy, Maryland Division (organized 1894); commemorates relatives connected with the Confederate States of America.
The collection consists of 17 scrapbooks (1860–1940) mainly containing newspaper clippings about the Civil War and the United Daughters of the Confederacy collected after 1900.

MS. 938 Woman's Eastern Shore Society Scrapbooks

Woman's Eastern Shore Society (organized 1926); social club of natives of Maryland's Eastern Shore; raised funds for student loans to Eastern Shore girls.
The collection consists of 5 scrapbooks (1926–56) with clippings relating to the Society's social and fund-raising activities and to the history of the Eastern Shore.

MS. 988, 1181 Woman's Literary Club Records

Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore (1890– ca. 1914); club to encourage literary work among Baltimore women.
The main activity of the Club was a monthly meeting at which members presented original work. The records include minutes (1890–1907, 7 vols.) with detailed summaries of papers presented and printed programs (1890–1914, ca. 350 items) listing papers given at each meeting.

TRAVEL

MS. 142 Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte Papers

Elizabeth [Patterson] Bonaparte (1785–1879); traveler.
Bonaparte's papers consist of correspondence, legal papers, account books, and scrapbooks. The extensive correspondence (1802–79, 11 boxes) covers her travels in Europe with letters from American and European friends. The legal and financial papers deal with her inheritance and her son's rights in France as nephew of Napoleon.

MS. 1750 Boone Diaries

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 2043 Elizabeth Hunter Diaries

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 476 Hutzler Papers

Ella [Gutman] Hutzler (1855–1942); Jewish social leader.
The collection is largely the incoming correspondence of Ella G. Hutzler. Letters (1873–96) were from her husband David, her parents Joel and Bertha Gutman, her sisters, and her daughters while they were away from Baltimore, often in Atlantic City, New Jersey and Europe. There are also her letters (1877–96) written to her husband.

MS. 487 Bertha P. Isaacs Papers

Bertha Patience Isaacs (b. 1865); genealogist.
The collection consists largely of papers relating to Isaacs' family in England. There are diaries of trips she took to England and Europe (1920s, 1931), genealogical notes, and letters.

MS. 2119 Edna Claiborne Latrobe Papers

See *Organizations*

MS. 2112 Mrs. Ray T. Lewis Diary

Mary Lewis (b. 1842).
This volume contains excerpts from Lewis' diary (1870–77). She traveled with her sea captain husband on several of his voyages to Europe and Australia. Lewis recorded her activities and boredom as the only woman on board.

MS. 2115 Claudia Old McKittrick Diaries

Claudia [Old] McKittrick (d. 1943); wife of a naval officer.
These 2 volumes (1923–37) are journals kept by McKittrick while traveling with her husband on various tours of duty. She traveled to China during the Japanese invasion, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.

MS. 651 Reizenstein Diaries

Jennie Reizenstein (dates unknown); resident of Baltimore, Maryland.
Reizenstein's 13 journals (1908–41) are accounts of her numerous trips to Europe and Central America.

MS. 814 Thomas Diary

Elizabeth [Todhunter] Thomas (m. 1835); resident of Baltimore, Maryland.
Thomas kept her journal (1836–37, 2 vols.) on a trip to Europe and gave a detailed account of her activities and observations on people and customs in England, France, and Italy.

MS. 871 David Bailie Warden Papers

See *Authors*

WAR WORK

MS. 2038 Aircraft Warning Service Scrapbook

Ingreet Bowen Weisheit (dates unknown); World War II aircraft spotter. This scrapbook (1941–45, 1 vol.) kept by Weisheit contains clippings, advertisements, comic strips, poems, and photographs about the Aircraft Warning Service, Filter Centers, and the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps.

MS. 1224 Anna Ella Carroll Papers

See *Authors*

MS. 987 Alice Louise Florence Fitzgerald Papers

Alice Louise Florence Fitzgerald (1874–1962); nurse.
The papers relate to Fitzgerald's nursing career, especially during World War I. Her papers include a typescript of her war diary (1916–17, 300 pp.); typescript of her unpublished autobiography (ca. 1956, 500 pp.); a typescript biography; man-

uscript and printed articles on nursing training and public health; and some correspondence.

MS. 2031 Anna Melissa Graves Papers

Anna Melissa Graves (1875–1964); pacifist.
Graves' papers (1920s–61, 40 items) are letters, speeches, and poems dealing with anti-colonialism in Africa and China, atheism, Friends for Gandhi, and racism in the United States.

MS. 1674 League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, Maryland Branch Papers

Jessie Snow (b. ca. 1886); Executive Secretary, Maryland Branch, League of Nations Non-Partisan Associaton.
The collection consists of Jessie Snow's papers as Executive Secretary (1928–45). Included are Executive Committee Meeting minutes; her correspondence; printed material; and material on Snow's extensive lectures on peace. Also included are papers on the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Allies (1940–42) and the United Nations.

MS. 1861 Margaret Smith Preston Diaries

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 1530–1530.1 Redwood Collection

See *Housekeeping*

MS. 1906 Lydia Howard de Roth Collection

Lydia Howard [Ford] de Roth (m. ca. 1923); sculptor, air raid warden.
The collection consists mainly of papers pertaining to de Roth's civil defense work during World War II. Included are a typescript diary (1939–1941, ca. 170 pp.) of her experience as an air raid warden in London and a copy of the handbook she wrote for training other wardens.

MS. 1413 Nannie Taylor Correspondence

Nannie Taylor Griffith (m. 1867); nurse.
Nannie Taylor Griffith's correspondence (1861–67, ca. 30 items) deals with her work as a nurse at the Confederate Camp Winder Hospital in Richmond, Virginia.

MS. 1450 Adeline Tyler Papers

Adeline [Blanchard] Tyler (1805–1875); Episcopal deaconess, nurse.
Tyler's papers (1861–64, ca. 50 items) pertain to her work superintending nurses in military hospitals in Chester, Pennsylvania. Included are letters and 2 manuscript accounts of her work by friends.

MS. 1531 Mrs. John Glover Wilson Scrapbook

Eva Orrick [Bandel] Wilson (1876–1966); newspaper correspondent.
The collection consists of 3 volumes (1917–19) of newspaper clippings and some letters by and about Wilson while she was a Baltimore *News* foreign correspondent during World War I and at the Paris Peace Conference.

BOOK REVIEWS

Notable Maryland Women. A Maryland Bicentennial Publication. Edited by Winifred G. Helmes. (Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1977. Pp. 417. $12.50.)

A new collection of biographies of notable women, this time of a hundred who lived and worked in Maryland over three centuries, adds to the growing number of resources for the study of the history of American women. Not only does one find here a number women for whom it would be desirable to have full-scale biographies, there is also plenty of reinforcement for patterns in women's experience historians have observed elsewhere. For example, the case of Eleanor Albert Bliss, discoverer of the medical applications of sulfa drugs, who five years after the discoveries were made public finally received an appointment as assistant professor of medicine at the Johns Hopkins Medical School. Or the case of Adelyn Breeskin, a successful staff member of the Baltimore Museum of Art, waiting for five years while the trustees searched for a male director. When she was finally appointed she proceeded to create what is here described as the golden age of the museum. And so on. It is a pleasant irony to find here the fascinating and complex life of Elizabeth Coit Gilman daughter of that inveterate anti-feminist Daniel Coit Gilman.

This volume, encompassing as it does women of three centuries, provides evidence if more were needed that forceful, achieving women are not a new phenomenon in American history. It also provides additional evidence of the importance of women's voluntary associations in shaping what historians label the Progressive Movement, and of the propensity of women to create institutions of many kinds.

The areas of activity are numerous: drama, archaeology, art, athletics, literature, business, politics, education, labor, the law, philanthropy, journalism, medicine, music, engineering various crafts, religion, science, and social reform. The fact that this list is so long is further evidence that "women's place," contrary to popular opinion, has long been—in the phrase of one nineteenth century feminist—"wherever she could find anything to do."

Fewer than half the women here described were married; whether they remained single in order to do their work more effectively or whether their chosen work short-circuited the possibility of matrimony is difficult to determine. Perhaps the answer is sometimes one, sometimes the other. Eleven percent of the women were black—a proportion close to that in the national population—and among these the rate of marriage is much higher than for the group as a whole.

In spite of the fact that most of the contributors to this volume are trained in history, the quality of individual essays varies from excellent to awful. Among the best are those by Nancy Revelle Johnson (Marie Bauernschmidt, Gertrude Bussey and Anna L. Cockran), by Marrianne Ellis Alexander (Angela Bambace, Olive Dennis and Mary Busch), by Elaine G. Breslau (Anne Armstrong), Beverly Chico (Adelyn Breeskin), Margaret Masson (Margaret Brent), Jeanne Hackley Stevenson (Rachel Carson), Mal Hee Son Wallace (Elizabeth King Ellicott). Without doubt the worst is a final essay on Maryland's unsung heroines which is an embarrassment in a supposedly scholarly volume. While social historians would surely agree that thousands of women unknown to history have shaped American society and culture, this kind of sentimental balderdash does not contribute to better understanding of that fact. It is too bad that the essay was not assigned to a serious social historian.

On balance, however the material was well worth the effort that has gone into collecting and writing it up. Historians as well as teachers will find it useful. If every state were to

provide a similar collection (Pennsylvania and Texas, like Maryland, have done so) we would have useful data on about 5000 women leaders, which would allow us to improve our generalizations about the life patterns and kinds of roles notable women have played in the creation of American society. Let us hope therefore for more such volumes modelled on the best parts of this one.

Duke University ANNE FIROR SCOTT

Revolution's Godchild: The Birth, Death, and Regeneration of the Society of the Cincinnati in North Carolina. By Curtis Carroll Davis. (Published for the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati by the University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1976. Illustrations, appendixes. Pp. xviii, 301. $20.00.)

If ever a group of soldiers earned the right to constitute themselves as a hereditary fraternal order, it was the officers of the Continental Line who formed the Society of the Cincinnati in 1783. Like the ancient Roman patriot after whom they took their name, the Cincinnatians were high-minded men: they pledged themselves to "an incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they have fought and bled," to an "unalterable determination to promote and cherish . . . union and national honor," and to "render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the Officers." Scarcely had the Society been organized, however, before it came under vehement attack. From one end of the new nation to the other, sunshine patriots—men ever ready to declaim in favor of liberty but rarely willing to make sacrifices for it— denounced the Cincinnati as a sinister design to establish a hereditary aristocracy. Largely because of this outcry, the Society never achieved the popular respect and the influence in national affairs which its members had earned. Chapters were formed in every state, but few were cohesive, and by 1800 all but six had quietly faded out of existence.

Late in the nineteenth century, under the leadership of a handful of dedicated men, a movement to revive the Society began. Interestingly, the revival of the North Carolina Society—the subject of the work under review—was in large measure owing to the efforts of a Marylander, Professor Edward Graham Daves, and his son, John Collins Daves of Baltimore. It is therefore fitting that the historian of the North Carolina Society should be another Baltimorean, Curtis Carroll Davis.

Colonel Davis' task, though obviously undertaken as a labor of love, could by no means have been an easy one. The sources are scattered, hard to find, and sometimes nonexistent. Many of the characters in the story, while vital to the story itself, are otherwise relatively obscure. No less difficult must have been certain questions of delicacy. Few if any outright scandals or scoundrels have ever been involved in the affairs of the Society, but from time to time there have been episodes, not to mention people, that a filiopietistic historian of the organization would have been tempted to sweep under the rug.

The author has surmounted the obstacles with his colors flying high. The research is thorough and meticulous. The story is told with grace and charm. Unpleasantries are handled candidly, yet with humor and taste. For instance, there was the matter of Asa Bird Gardiner, a Rhode Islander who served as Secretary-General of the national organization for a quarter of a century but, it was ultimately disclosed, "had held his office illegally from the very outset"; and there were occasional officials who, in their zeal to increase the membership, relaxed the standards of admission so far as to permit descendants of *militia officers* into the Society's hallowed ranks.

The author is to be especially commended for two additional features of the work. It would have been easy, considering the subject, to have written a book of mere antiquarian interest. Not so with this one; among other things, it is a fascinating slice of American social history and a rich little mine of current sociological information concerning the kind

of people who are actively interested in patriotic organizations. Related to this strength is another. The Society of the Cincinnati is an extremely exclusive, indeed a snobbish, organization.

Applicants for membership must meet not only the genealogical requirement, they must also pass a rigorous personal screening at the hands of a secret committee known only to the president and to the members of the committee itself. Far from apologizing for retaining such exclusivity in these egalitarian times, Davis is justly proud of it. The values of the Society—conservative, patriotic, military, and genteel—may be unfashionable, but they relate to "tested verities and demonstrated virtues." And, as the authors says in summing up, "in an American season too widely contaminated by a general permissiveness and individual incertitude . . . in such an atmosphere of very mutable principles members of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati make bold to affirm that they know precisely where they stand."

I believe that if Washington, Hamilton, and Knox were resurrected, they would join me in saying, "Hear, hear!"

University of Alabama FORREST MCDONALD

The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism. Edited by Alfred F. Young. (De Kalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976. Pp. xv, 481. $5.00.)

Our understanding of the nature of the American Revolution has increased impressively in the past decade or so, and much of that increase has derived from the growing body of scholarship devoted to analyzing the nature of American society during the last half of the eighteenth century. This valuable book brings together examples of a dozen scholars' work: eleven essays, each thirty pages or more in length, plus a few pages of footnotes; along with the editor's very useful contribution in the form of an introduction, an afterword, and his close, continuing role as consultant, which is generously acknowledged by the essayists. Although the critical, informed reader will find things to challenge, this is indispensable reading for anyone with a serious interest in the period.

Even the skeptic, who may question whether there was enough change to warrant the term "revolution," will want to hear what can be said by these students of discontent in late colonial society. Their work is arranged in three groups, and much of it will be familiar in a general way. In a section entitled "Common Folk and Gentle Folk," we have Gary B. Nash on urban strife before 1776; Edward Countryman on the "northern rural crowd;" Marvin L. Michael Kay on the North Carolina Regulation as a class conflict (more than a sectional one); and Rhys Isaac on popular religion, popular culture and class differences in Virginia. A second section, "Patriots and Radicals," presents Joseph Ernst on the relationship of ideas to "reality" (i.e., economic interest) in the Revolution; Eric Foner summarizing his views of Thomas Paine (now available *in extenso* in his book on Paine); Dirk Hoerder on the relationship between Boston's leaders and its crowds; and Ronald Hoffman on internal turmoil in the Revolutionary South. A third section, least securely germane to the overall topic, discusses three groups of people denominated "outsiders:" the Indians, by Francis Jennings; blacks, by Ira Berlin; and women, by Joan Hoff Wilson. Each of these writers is given a page to introduce the reader to his current work, and explain what he thinks he is accomplishing by it—a very nice feature.

The volume has a rather strong thematic coherence, enhanced by the editor's crisp delineation of purpose in a foreword. The most troublesome matter is to determine just what "radicalism" is supposed to mean. The old notion that the radicals in the American Revolution, especially in its early stages, were people who were extreme in their resistance to Parliamentary policies, and even willing to embrace independence rather than submit,

is, of course, narrow and even irrelevant if one is looking for some continuous phenomenon which is to be called "American radicalism." We are told that instead the term is used to mean "those seeking internal change." But this provides some problems, too, especially for those who take the political ideology professed by American leaders of the time seriously. When, on occasion, the "lower orders" resisted the authority of American leaders, knowing that little would be done about internal change, they then became enemies of the revolution in the original sense—a repudiation of royal authority. The "radicals" turn out to be Loyalists—i.e., abettors of George III and Parliamentary imperialism. Ronald Hoffman, among others, handles this well in describing the plight of both the disaffected and the Whig leadership in Maryland and Delaware.

We have long known some of this, of course. These essays generally illuminate specific, tangled lines of political action which constitute the inner realities of Revolutionary America. If these are chapters in the history of American radicalism, they are curious ones, indeed. We are assured at the outset, though, that the intent is not to celebrate radicalism; and several writers explicitly warn us that radicalism was a very different thing in the eighteenth century from what it is in the twentieth.

As for the Indians, blacks and women, it is no easy task to show what the Revolution did about their discontents. Yet all three essays in this section contain admirable scholarship and provocative ideas. Ira Berlin's appraisal of the effects of the Revolution on black life, for example, begins with the bold assertion that "The events and ideas of the revolutionary years radically altered the structure of black society. . . . The number of blacks enjoying freedom swelled under the pressure of revolutionary change, from a few thousand in the 1760's to almost two-hundred thousand by [1810]." On the other hand, Francis Jennings' parting shot is fired at "the strange proposition that invasion, conquest, and dispossession of other peoples support the principle that all men are created equal." The editor, in his afterword, says "Striking a balance between the failures and achievements of the Revolution may be the most difficult task of all." At this stage of our knowledge, questions are more important than answers. In this volume, a wide range of ingenious questions are raised; many readers will find useful material for constructing answers as well.

Wayne State University RICHARD D. MILES

The Human Dimensions of Nation Making: Essays on Colonial and Revolutionary America. Edited by James Kirby Martin. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976. Pp. vi, 370. $15.00.)

This collection of "essays written in honor of Merrill Jensen upon his retirement from the University of Wisconsin" is an admirable tribute to a distinguished historian. Thirteen of Jensen's former students present a varied mixture of topics approached through a diversity of historical methods all emphasizing Jensen's basic premise that "human beings rather than mindless forces were at the heart of the many dimensions of history."

The first two essays deal with Jensen himself: E. James Ferguson in "Merrill Jensen: A Personal Comment" and James Kirby Martin, the festschrift's editor, in the title article, "The Human Dimensions of Nation Making: Merrill Jensen's Scholarship and the American Revolution." The two articles effectively put in proper perspective Jensen's significant role in the careers of his students and in the community of scholars of the American Revolution. They also lead to the conclusion that it is a mistake to speak of Jensen's retirement as he remains well occupied as editor of *The Documentary History of the First Federal Elections, 1788–1790* and *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*—both ongoing projects which will make it easier for researchers to utilize the sources.

Jensen's students exemplify their mentor's insistence on first-rate research, based on the

sources, and at the same time incorporating the latest in historical techniques and a thorough knowledge of the secondary material. Three articles deal with Americans who remained loyal to King and Empire during troubled times which extend for almost a century. In "The Trials of Sir Edmund Andros" Stephen Saunders Webb discusses an example of the type of royal executive who created the "old Empire." Saunders demonstrates how, almost a hundred years before the Revolution, Andros engendered rebellion in America but mustered much support for the King's (and his own) cause on both sides of the Atlantic. Kenneth Coleman does an equally good job of looking at "James Wright and the Origins of the Revolution in Georgia." Although the article is too brief for detailed analysis, Coleman portrays Wright's efforts to maintain Royal authority far beyond the time this was a viable option. In "Daniel Claus: A Personal History of Militant Loyalism in New York," Jonathan G. Rossie traces the individual relationships and personal loyalties which led Claus into loyalism and kept him there despite loss of property and position.

Joseph L. Davis in "Political Change in Revolutionary America: A Sectional Reinterpretation" admirably summarizes recent scholarship on the development of political and sectional divisions within the Confederation congresses. He views these differences as being briefly subordinated in order to frame a stronger government under the Constitution but sees the conflicts as emerging again and again to create problems for future generations.

Jensen's insistence on quality research and incisive interpretation included encouraging his students to enter the newer areas of historical techniques and urging them to follow their own interests into uncharted areas—especially local and state history. Jackson Turner Main, in "The Distribution of Property in Colonial Connecticut," utilizes a careful statistical analysis of tax lists and estate inventories to determine that pre-Revolutionary Connecticut was not a place of extreme differences in the degree of wealth, that there was a generally high level of wealth, and that poverty was mostly a temporary state confined to the young. Changes in the distribution of wealth were occurring but with no recognizable general pattern and having no bearing on the coming of the Revolution in Connecticut.

George M. Curtis III, in "The Role of the Courts in the Making of the Revolution in Virginia," provides one of the most promising articles. In an examination of how the radicals gained control of one of the most firmly established legal systems in the colonies, Curtis fails to sharply describe the take-over but does provide an innovative framework in which to view the Revolution on a state level.

Stephen E. Patterson shows the intensity and divisive nature of another state's political divisions in "After Newburg: The Struggle for the Impost in Massachusetts." John P. Kaminski admirably discusses the background of a state's opposition to the Constitution in "Democracy Run Rampant: Rhode Island in the Confederation." Steven R. Boyd provides a good example of the ramifications of a national event on local affairs in "The Impact of the Constitution on State Politics: New York as a Test Case."

Richard H. Kohn perhaps overstates his case in the title "The Murder of the Militia System in the Aftermath of the American Revolution," but he does an admirable job of showing how the early national leaders recognized the failings of the citizen soldier and began the shift to a professional military class which would eliminate dependence on the militia system to which they all professed loyalty.

It is regrettable that Van Beck Hall does not altogether succeed in his attempt to speak to political historians on the need for incorporating the new techniques of social history. "A Fond Farewell to Henry Adams: Ideas on Relating Political History to Social Change During the Early National Period" conveys a message which the historical profession needs to hear but does so in a manner which will not cause it to be heard by those traditional historians who need it most.

So, from a host of perspectives; with a variety of techniques, topics, and success, and within the limitations of the festschrift motif, some of Merrill Jensen's students have

honored him and themselves by assembling an excellent collection of articles. The volume is highly recommended for those interested in the history and historiography of revolutionary and early national America.

Wake Forest University J. EDWIN HENDRICKS

The Days of My Years. By Samuel Rosenblatt. (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1976. Pp. 207, $10.00.)

The Days of My Years is a record of a golden age of the American-Jewish symbiosis as it existed in Baltimore, seen through the eyes of a giant of Baltimore Jewish history, Professor Samuel Rosenblatt. After recording his childhood in Hamburg, Germany and his education in New York, son of the famous cantor Josef Rosenblatt, Samuel Rosenblatt devotes the bulk of his work to his fifty years in Baltimore. He arrived in 1926, complete with a Columbia University Ph.D. in Semitics and ordination from the Chief Rabbi of the Holy Land, Abraham Isaac Kook, to accept the pulpit of the newly-founded Beth Tfiloh synagogue, with its imposing Moorish edifice on Garrison Boulevard, Forest Park. A few years later he accepted a post in Near Eastern Studies in The Johns Hopkins University, where he still serves as professor.

Forest Park was in those days a young, vigorous and growing community, a beautiful garden suburb, with great potential as a center of Jewish, as well as Christian, life. During his fifty years at its helm Beth Tfiloh came to fulfill the verse in Isaiah from which it takes its name, 'And My House shall be called a House of Prayer (Beth Tfiloh) for everyone.' Outstanding for its adherence to uncompromising Orthodoxy, Beth Tfiloh came to broaden its programs to encompass the totality of Jewish life in the area. At its height Beth Tfiloh was a model congregation of international stature. Its complex included a Hebrew day school with 350 pupils, an afternoon Hebrew school and youth community center serving about fifteen hundred children, a summer day camp, societies for the study of Psalms, Scripture and rabbinic literature, a burial society, a choral society, brotherhood, sisterhood, married couples club within the basic nine hundred families from whom Beth Tfiloh was the focal point of their religious life. Even in the 1930s the congregation included a full-time executive director among its staff of over seventy persons. Its weekly forums were addressed by speakers as well-known as Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, Senator Hubert Humphrey, zionist leader Dr. Stephen Wise, novelist Ludwig Lewisohn, columnist Dorothy Thompson. The list of speakers for its Sunday morning breakfast lectures was often headed by Professor William Foxwell Albright, the century's leading authority in Biblical archaeology. Everything about Beth Tfiloh set the highest standards and set the congregation among the world's standard bearers of Jewish Orthodoxy.

Throughout his years in the pulpit, Dr. Rosenblatt was also developing his potential as an academician, publishing a succession of works as diverse as critical editions of the classics of mediaeval philosophy by Saadiah Gaon and Joseph, son of Moses Maimonides, to analytical studies of the interpretation of Scripture in various bodies of rabbinic literature, a biography of his famous father, a history of religious zionism and volumes of his well-executed sermons. Like William Foxwell Albright, the Hopkins chairman of Near Eastern Studies with whom he worked for so long, Samuel Rosenblatt saw Scripture as a living reality, not a dead subject of interest only to archaeologists. Within the university Dr. Rosenblatt looked after the religious needs of the Jewish student community, proving that Judaism could be a vital force even in the secular millieu of academe.

In June, 1967, a few weeks after the Six Day War in the Middle East, Beth Tfiloh dedicated its new synagogue on Old Court Road, Pikesville, inaugurating a new era in its service to the community and reflecting the changing geographical pattern of Baltimore Jewry. The congregation, after an initial numerical decline caused by this transition, began

to recoup its losses, and still occupies its outstanding place among America's several thousand Orthodox synagogues. In 1972, having reached his seventieth birthday, Dr. Rosenblatt agreed to accept the title 'rabbi emeritus' and began to devote more time to his publications. *The Days of My Years* is one of the fruits of his renewed writing. It is a valuable contribution to the study of Baltimore's Jewish community.

Baltimore, Maryland JOSEPH A. FIELD

Religion in Antebellum Kentucky. By John B. Boles. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976. Pp. ix, 147. $3.95.)

According to Professor Boles, religion permeated all aspects of life in antebellum Kentucky. One can appreciate, then, the difficult problem the author faced in attempting to compress an account of this "high voltage religious culture" into such a slender volume.

The book may be divided into two main parts. In the first four chapters, Professor Boles presents a rather straightforward narrative account of the coming of the major religious groups to Kentucky. These included the Episcopalians, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Roman Catholics, all of whom had made their appearance by the middle 1780's. The author devotes an entire chapter to an absorbing account of the Catholic missionaries whose heroic efforts placed Kentucky in the vanguard of Catholicism in the West.

The most significant event of these early years, however, was the Great Revival of 1800 which, Professor Boles claims, not only changed the course of Kentucky history but to a large extent explains the conservative, individualistic nature of the Southern character as well. In attempting to explain the causes of the revival, the author stresses cultural and social forces "existing in an atmosphere of heady expectation." Why the revival burst forth in 1800 rather than 1795 or even earlier when the same factors were present is not explained.

The Great Revival resulted not in religious harmony, but in religious diversity as older denominations fragmented and new groups emerged. The Presbyterian Church was especially hard hit. Differences over theology among Presbyterians in the northern part of Kentucky set in motion a series of events culminating in the formation of the Disciples of Christ. At the same time differences over revivalistic methods among Presbyterians in the southern part of the state led to the secession of the Cumberland Presbyterians. A third group, the Shakers, took advantage of the ferment generated by the Great Revival and the author skillfully weaves an account of their growth into his story.

In the last three chapters of the book Professor Boles becomes more interpretative. Here he is concerned with such topics as black Christianity, the attitudes of the white churches toward slavery, and a concluding chapter on the extent to which religion permeated the life of Kentuckians.

With respect to the religion of Kentucky slaves, the author concludes that their Christian faith was an integral part of their lives. Indeed, their ability to identify themselves both with the Israelites whom God delivered from the land of Pharaoh and with Jesus as the Suffering Servant largely explains how the blacks managed to survive the ordeal of slavery. Without their faith, says the author, slaves would probably have been reduced to "genocidal race war and destructive self-hate." The author does a good job of dealing with black Christianity but unfortunately very little information on the subject is drawn from Kentucky sources. He relies heavily on studies made of black Christianity in the South generally and apparently assumes that the blacks in Kentucky shared the same religious beliefs and aspirations.

Similarly, the author had to settle for "scattered primary sources" in describing the role played by white churches in the antislavery movement in Kentucky. He asserts that the churches led the way in "a surprising tradition of antislavery." Although the various

denominations drew back from taking a strong position against slavery, a considerable number of Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist ministers had contributed significantly since the 1780's to the growth of antislavery sentiment in the state. Their courageous efforts were an important element in Kentucky's decision to remain in the Union in 1861.

One may question the author's priorities as to just what and how much to include in a book of this length, but the fact remains that Professor Boles has written a splendid volume that contributes as much to our understanding of the antebellum South as it does to our understanding of the formative years of the Bluegrass State.

Western Kentucky University RICHARD L. TROUTMAN

The Democratic Party and the Negro: Northern and National Politics, 1868–92. By Lawrence Grossman. (Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, 1976. Pp. xi, 212. $9.95.)

Students of American political history have long noted the decentralized and undisciplined nature of our party system. By parliamentary standards, the national parties in the United States have a shadow existence. Lacking continuous national leadership or a well defined national agenda, the various state parties tend to chart their own course, deviating opportunistically from majority sentiment in the national party whenever such a course appears to offer advantages.

The Democratic party after the Civil War provides an illustrative case in point. It included the remnants of Stephen A. Douglas's Northern Democracy, weakened by bitter internal divisions over the question of support for the Union war effort, together with the defeated Confederates of the postwar South. Democrats also quarreled endlessly with each other about the significant economic issues of the era—currency, tariffs, and federal encouragement for transportation improvements.

Lawrence Grossman's skillful study significantly enlarges our understanding of postbellum Democratic schism. He traces carefully the division within the party between hardline white supremacists who favored continued resistance to black voting in the South, and moderate advocates of a "new departure," who believed that Democrats should give at least lip service to the principle of universal suffrage, in an effort to overcome the party image of wartime disloyalty. New Departure Democrats contended that "home role" for Southern whites would sooner be achieved and federal enforcement of black rights sooner ended by appearing to acquiesce in the basic features of Republican reconstruction policy.

During the 1870s New Departure Democrats gained the upper hand within the party. Local circumstances determined, however, what the slogan would actually mean in practice. Grossman demonstrates convincingly that many Northern Democrats by the 1880s actively solicited black support. A close and fiercely contested balance between the two major parties in many Northern states gave Democrats an obvious motive to try to detach the small but overwhelmingly Republican bloc of black votes. Ohio Democrats, for example, narrowly elected George Hoadly governor in 1883 by taking advantage of black resentment generated by years of Republican neglect and indifference; both Ohio parties for a time thereafter courted blacks more zealously. Grossman also shows that Democrats frequently initiated the Civil Rights laws passed by many Northern state legislatures in the 1880s. His analysis of how Northern Democrats solicited black support in the 1880s constitutes the most original contribution of this well-written short monograph.

But the "new departure" was for Southern Democrats merely a facade. The reduction or elimination of black political strength remained their basic objective. South Carolina Democrats, for example, adopted the infamous eight-box law in 1882, a crude scheme to disfranchise black voters. There and elsewhere in the deep South, fraud and intimidation drastically reduced black political participation. Such behavior by Southern Democrats

was, as Grossman notes, "the Achilles heel of Northern Democratic racial liberalism." When Democrats unamimously opposed the Elections Bill of 1890, designed by Republicans to curb voting irregularities in the South through federal supervision, the superficiality of the "new departure" became obvious. However unsatisfactory their alliance with the Republican party, blacks had no place else to go. Readers of this journal would be interested to consult, in this connection, Margaret Law Callcott's *The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870–1912,* an excellent and informative state study that shows meticulously why blacks remained overwhelmingly Republican in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The "new departure" appeared permanently buried by the great party realignment of the 1890s. Southern Democrats, frightened by the Populist insurgency, moved to cut down the Southern electorate and to eliminate black voting altogether. Meanwhile the Bryanized Democratic party became a noncompetitive minority in the urban states of the Northeast and Midwest. Circumstances thus no longer gave Northern blacks the opportunity to play balance of power politics at the statewide level, nor was there any realistic prospect of challenging the tyranny practiced by Southern Democrats.

In the long run, however, the strategy first employed by Northern blacks in the 1880s has paid rich dividends. Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal weaned blacks from their ancestral Republican loyalty, and thereby initiated a second "new departure," one which had vastly different results from the first. By the 1960s, to make a long story short, black votes carried more weight in the national Democratic party than those cast by segregationist whites, and the party emerged from the upheaval of the Civil Rights Movement as an interracial coalition, both North and South. Though dismissed by prophets of an "emerging Republican majority" and buried by the Nixon landslide of 1972, that coalition has just succeeded in electing a President.

Trenton State College DANIEL W. CROFTS

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE
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BOOK NOTES

Care and Conservation of Collections. Edited by Frederick L. Rath, Jr. and Merrilyn Rogers O'Connell; compiled by Rosemary Reese. Vol. II of *A Bibliography of Historical Organization Practices.* Edited by Frederick L. Rath, Jr. (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1977. Pp. viii, 107. $10.00.) This slim volume contains references to general and specific areas of artifact preservation and conservation. While this bibliography claims to be selective rather than definitive, I was impressed by the variety of sources from which the entries were derived. Besides books, pamphlets and articles (76 different periodicals are cited), this publication also includes relevant film and tape materials plus several unpublished works and their locations. Entries are annotated if the title is not self-explanatory. The first five chapters contain entries on the history, philosophy, necessary training and environmental considerations involved in the care and conservation of collections; the last four chapters list pertinent works on library materials (including an article on "A Method of Making Papyrus and Fixing and Preserving It by Means of a Chemical Treatment"), paintings, works on paper, and the conservation of objects. Also included is a compilation of major national, foreign and international conservation organizations, noting the purposes, services and publications of each, and a three-page roster of conservation training programs. A very useful twenty-one-page subject, title and author index completes this book. Any person responsible for maintaining a diversified collection of important and valuable artifacts would find this volume to be a very useful tool. [Gerald Z. Levin]

The Story of Jessup. By G. Marie Biggs. (Jessup, Md., 1977. Pp. 80. $5.50.) This well-written, well-organized little book provides just about everything anyone would be likely to want to know about the community of Jessup, which is situated in both Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, from the earliest land grants to the latest word on inns and restaurants. The name comes from the early days of railroad building, when part of a deep excavation for laying the tracks came to be known as Jessup's Cut for one of the Baltimore and Ohio contractors. The author, a lifelong resident of Jessup and schoolteacher there for thirty-four years, has been able to draw on the memory of three generations of ancestors as well as a wide variety of research sources, including those of the Maryland Historical Society, whose copy of Martenet's 1860 map makes a handsome cover design. A labor of love this certainly is, but it is also an excellent local history. The booklet is being sold for the benefit of local organizations and is available postpaid from the author, Box 420-A, Route 3, Jessup, Maryland 20794. [Vera Ruth Filby]

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NEWS AND NOTICES

The Manuscripts Division of the Maryland Historical Society is in the process of forming a collection on microfilm of the maritime manuscripts related to Maryland which exist in the National Archives. Funds were obtained from the Radcliffe Maritime Museum's 1976–77 annual budget and from two donors, to defray the cost of future orders of microfilm. A drive has also been initiated to interest related institutions in joining the project in an attempt to alleviate some of the economic pressures while supplying each institution with copies of all of the films.

Three outstanding collections have been received by the Manuscripts Division: a collection of Winder family papers 1817–19, including letters from William Henry Winder, Jr. while imprisoned for political reasons at Fort Warren, Boston, Massachusetts, 1861–62; a group of Birnie family papers 1799–1827, including letters relating to politics in Ireland, Clatworthy Birnie's settlement in Maryland, and Birnie's business affairs; and a collection of Samuel G. Smith papers relating to his Warren Factory complex on the Gunpowder River, 1830–33. Also, the papers of George L. Radcliffe, United States Senator 1934–46, and President of the Maryland Historical Society, 1939–64, have been processed and are now available to researchers.

Mrs. Isabella Athey's name was omitted from the list of Library volunteers in the Annual Report. The editor apologizes for this oversight.

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Edward C. Carter II, editor

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The Green Spring Valley: Its History and Heritage, made possible through the generosity of the Middendorf Foundation, Inc., is on sale now at the Maryland Historical Society for $35.00 and can be ordered by mail. All mail orders must be prepaid. Add $2.00 for postage and handling. Maryland residents include $1.75 for sales tax.

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